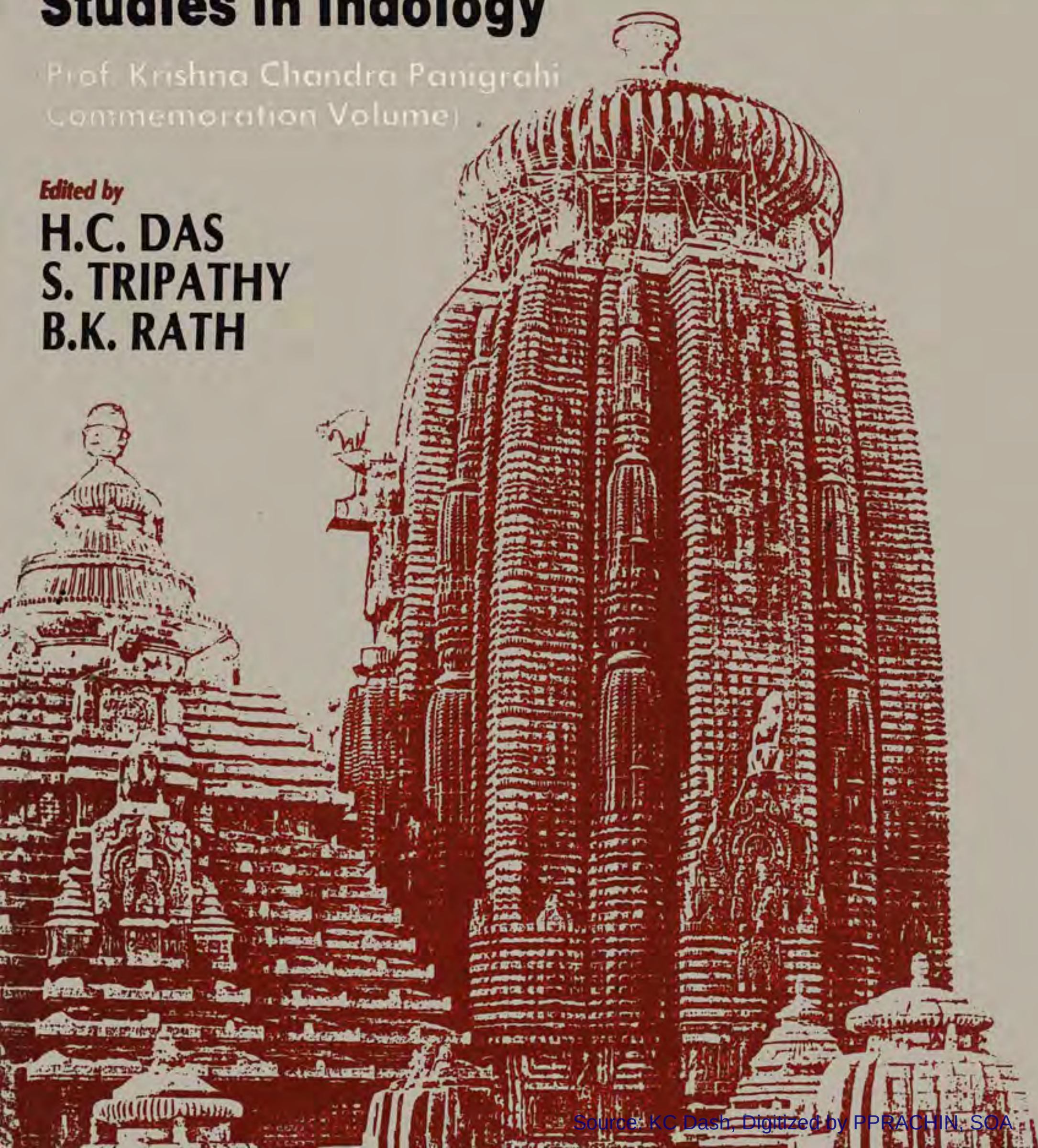
KṚṢṆA PRATIBHĀ

Studies in Indology

(Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi Commemoration Volume)

Edited by

H.C. DAS
S. TRIPATHY
B.K. RATH



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Volume I

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Professor Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
Born Khiching, 1909. Died : Cuttack, 25-2-1987



वेदानुद्धरते जगन्निवहते भूगोल-मुद्विभ्रते
दैत्यान् दारयते बलिं छलयते क्षत्रक्षयं कुर्वते
पौलस्त्यं जयते हलं कलयते कारुण्यमातन्वते
म्लेच्छान् मूर्च्छयते दशाकृतिकृते कृष्णाय तुभ्यं नमः ।

Editors' Note

The present memorial volume 'Kṛṣṇa Pratibhā' is published as a mark of respect to the profound scholar, genuine archaeologist and eminent historian Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi who passed away on 25th February, 1987 creating a vacuum in the Indological Research. As an exponent of ancient Indian history, culture and archaeology with multidimensional inter-disciplinary approach he made substantial contributions to the subjects. To him the study of epigraphy, numismatics, literary records and art and architecture were as significant as history. It was he who through systematic survey and study of archaeological data, historical facts and literary evidences resurrected several kings and dynasties, sites, monuments and sculptures from oblivion. In fact, he laid the strong foundation of archaeological research in Orissa incorporating his field knowledge gained in the excavations at Khiching, Nalanda, Rajgir, Nandangarh, Rajghat, Ahichhatra, Sisupalgarh etc. His long association with the Archaeological Department of the then Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, Archaeological Survey of India, with the Orissa State Museum, teaching in Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, G.M. College, Sambalpur and Berhampur University earned him wide celebrity, esteem and honour as a pioneer archaeologist and historian.

A scholar-Professor is generally guided by the quality of the teaching imparted to his students, the standard research works produced by him and the research scholars successfully completing their research works under his guidance and supervision. Fortunately, Professor Panigrahi was endowed with all these qualities. He has left behind several books and a series of research papers of exceptionally high standard. His *magnum opus* 'Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar' got international recognition and was displayed in the International Book Exhibition at Frankfurt, Germany and accepted as a text book in the Oriental School of Art, London. We are

sure, this treatise will remain a standard book for years to come. He earned his popularity among the students and elites for the book 'History of Orissa'. Two of his Oriya books, 'Itihasa O Kimbadanti' and 'Sarala Sahityare Aitihasika Citra', an attempt to find out the historicity of legendary accounts, have proved to be indispensable reference books to the scholars carrying on research on the ancient and medieval history of Orissa. In recognition of his similar achievements in the literary field of Orissa he was honoured by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi.

The present volume containing 42 useful and scholarly articles, is divided into three sections, viz., (I) Archaeology, (II) History and (III) Culture. The first section contains 21 research papers covering pre-historic culture, sculptures, inscriptions and temples. The second section has 8 articles covering from ancient Indian history to tribal history. The third section deals with religious movements, *Silpasastras,* the temple chronicles etc. We feel the book will be of great help to the students and research scholars in the disciplines of history, archaeology and culture.

We are extremely grateful to the learned contributors who have made this volume scholarly and useful by their research papers. We deeply feel the sad loss of Dr. R.P. Mahapatra, our esteemed colleague and learned scholar, who contributed a scholarly paper for this volume, but could not live to see the printed volume.

Our thanks are due to Sri S.K. Pattnaik, for preparing some photographs for the volume.

Last but not the least, we are thankful to Sri A.P. Singhal of M/s. Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi for taking up the publication of this volume.

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Bhubaneswar
Dated 1-11-1991

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Prof. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi
A Brief Life-Sketch

H.C. Das.

Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, our beloved Professor, Philosopher and Guide, and eminent historian, and archaeologist of international fame, a revivalist of Orissan culture bringing about a renaissance through his forceful writings, a man of unusual character marked for his suavity, honesty, dignity, simplicity and integrity, a sincere worker for the cause of culture and humanity, a pioneer literateur passed away silently at 7.50 P.M. on the 25th February, 1987, creating a vacuum in the scholarly world. Born in 1909 in an orthodox Brahmin family of Khiching in the District of Mayurbhanj, which is famous for the oldest capital of the Bhañja rulers and a centre of religious activities (Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished here under the royal patronage), imbibed the typical conservative character of Brahmin caste and simplicity and plain living of the tribals residing in and around Khiching.

His father, Sri Sagar Panigrahi and mother Saraswati Devi, who were original residents of Mugaguru village in Anandpur Sub-division of Keonjhar District, disposed of their paternal landed property at a cost of only three hundred rupees and permanently settled at Khiching. His parents were blessed with eleven children of whom Krishna Chandra was the ninth one. Religious-minded Sagar Babu was indifferent to the worldly affairs and was quite happy with the meagre income derived from the land and from the priestly work. He spent most of his time in reading various religious texts written in palm leaf manuscripts. On account of his scholarship and well-conversance in the sacred lore the Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj engaged him as the priest of Khiching temple and for his maintenance donated five *māṇa* of

Devottar land as *jagir*. The income from the temple and from the produce of the *jagir* land was adequate for maintaining his family. Sagar Babu could have possessed vast tract of land had he simply requested the mahārājā, but was never mindful to the economic prospertity. He was quite happy with what he got.

Though orthodox in temperament, he was eclectic in his attitude to caste system. The people of Teli caste living around Khiching were declared to have belonged to the clean caste community but were debarred from priestly services of the Brahmins. They were in many cases economically affluent, possessing the title of zamindars and thereby demanding sacred services from the Brahmins. On account of their high economic status they used to torture the reluctant Brahmins. It was about 1914-15, when a kinsman of Mahārāja family who was in charge of Religious Department of Mayurbhanj State, delivered a judgement that the Brahmins should act as the priests of the Telis. The orthodox Brahmins stood against the decree, but Sagar Panigrahi raised his voice in favour of the Telis and finally performed their sacred services. As a result, his family was ostracized from the Brahmin community. Having been tortured, the Brahmin Pandit Sagar Panigrahi left Khiching and lived in a small cottage in the village Kakharupana located about two miles away. The Brahmins designated the Panigrahi family as *Telibiṭāliā* and stopped all priestly works in his family. On account of this, he had to face a lot of trouble particularly in getting his sons and daughters married. Despite trials and tribulations he never bowed down before the caste bretheren, rather remained firm in his decision.

His pious father died in 1919 when Krishna Chandra was only 10 years old. In the same year his eldest brother Govinda died of war influenza. In the Śrāddha ceremonies the torture of the Brahmins was indescribable. As a result of the unusual situation created by the Brahmins the family members under compulsion had to observe funeral rites for two long months (instead of traditionally accepted 12 days). At last with the help of a beggar Brahmin of Dhenkanal the funeral ceremony was performed. The particular incident had a great imprint on the mind of child Krishna Chandra. Like his father he remained firm in his opinion and decision throughout his life.

Another incident of his childhood days that had a great impact on him, was the war influenza (1919) sweeping away innumerable lives. Many of his

family members succumbed to death due to this epidemic. It was at this time Krishna Chandra met various accidents. Stumbling down on a root of peepal tree he lost two milk teeth; his family horse once stuck him at his lips; a *Bhumij* boy plunged an arrow into his stomach; a peacock hurt his right nostril (the mark remained till his death). From all these incidents it can be well-imagined what a pathetic and difficult his boyhood was!

Krishna Chandra under these difficult circumstances started his schooling in traditional *Cāṭaśālis* run by the *Avadhānas*. Despite his schooling in traditional *Pāṭhśālās* for six years (from the age of five to eleven) he could not even pass the lower primary examination. The reasons are obvious. The *Cāṭaśālis* in those days were transitory in nature; the ill-paid *Avadhānas* did not stick to one *Cāṭaśāli* for a long time; the parents were indifferent in educating their children. However, he read in several *cāṭaśālis* till the age of eleven and was well-acquainted with the books like *Varṇabodha, Bālabodha, Śiśubodha, Cāṭaśāli-pāṭha, Pāṭiganita, Pasanda-Cudamani, Keśava-Koili, Vasanta-Koili, Vāramāsi-Koili, Bheṭā-cautiśā, Baulāgāi, Indrajāl-Kautuka* etc. and with various Sanskrit lores. Dr. Panigrahi has given a vivid description of the traditional *cāṭaśālis* in his book "Mo Samayara Oḍiśā". At home he availed the opportunity of learning the Sanskrit including *Pujā-paddhati, Śrāddha-paddhati, Vivāha-paddhati* etc. from his elder brother. From the very childhood he learnt many things which many of his classmates could not. The death of his father and elder brother brought unquoth misery on his family. He crossed the age of primary education. However, with great difficulty he was admitted in Sukruli (a village two miles from Khiching) Lower primary school on condition that he would cook food for the teacher. That also he could not manage. At last Mohan Sahu of Naupana village allowed him to stay in his house. He completed his lower primary course within one year but was not allowed to appear in the certificate examination as he did not complete full one year of schooling. His teacher Viswanath Naik attempted to get him admitted in the Karanjia M.E. School, but that was not possible. By that time he crossed the age of eleven and lost all hope in study.

His mother Sarasvati Devi was a pious lady; worked day and night at home and in the field for maintaining her family; one of her sons earned something from the temple services. Mother wanted to educate Krishna

Chandra and earn his living from a service. She could not live long to see the achievements of her beloved son.

At this time there came several offers to work as a Brahmin cook to which none of his family members agreed. He rather agreed to cook for the Head Pandit of Roruan U.P. School and read in the school. He stayed in the school for a day only and came back home. Leaving all hopes of study he engaged himself to graze the cattle of his family. In this way he spent fifteen years of his distorted life, when a sudden new opportunity changed the course of his life. Shyamsundar Das, a magnanimous teacher admitted him in the Roruan U.P. School and acted as his guardian. Because of his higher age he felt very ashamed in the class, but was happy when he came to know that many of his classmates were of his age. After prosecuting studies for 15 months in the Roruan U.P. School he was found fit to appear in the upper primary examination along with his classmates. In those days the Upper Primary Examination of the entire Mayurbhanj State was conducted at Baripada. In order to appear in the examination at Baripada he along with his teacher and classmates had to walk long 92 miles through the jungle road with food materials and books. This incident evidently indicates his tenacity and interest for studies. There was, of course, a narrow guage rail linking Baripada to Rupsa, and the fare was $7^1/_2$ *annas*. He was successful in the examination and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 5/- per month for two years. With this scholarship money he continued his study in the M.E. school at Karanjia. To get admitted in this school was not an easy matter. He was considered to be very poor in English. On persuasion of the second teacher he was admitted in this school. Now onwards he continued his studies regularly without much problem. He passed the M.E. examination with great success receiving a scholarship of Rs. 7/- per month. In Matriculation examination he scored a good division with a scholarship of Rs. 20/- per month. Similarly in the Intermediate examination he proved his acumen and merit by securing a scholarship of Rs. 25/- per month.

He prosecuted his college studies (from Intermediate stage) in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and passed B.A. with second class honours in History in 1935. Dr. Panigrahi has given a vivid picture of his student life in the schools and colleges in his book "Mo Samayara Oḍiśā". In those days Ravenshaw College at Cuttack was the only college in Orissan part of the

Bihar-Orissa province. The number of students in this college was also meagre, the students lived very peacefully in the hostels. Dr. Panigrahi was staying in the East Hostel and during this period he associated himself with cultural and literary activities of Ravenshaw college and of other cultural organisations at Cuttack. In the beginning years he used to compose poems but later on switched over to writing research papers. The food in the hostel was excellent and the monthly expenditure in the hostel was Rs. 10/- or 12/-. During his student career the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj offered him a scholarship which along with his Government Scholarship money was quite adequate for his maintenance.

After graduation he planned to take up a Government job which in those days was very difficult. To get a government job like Sub-Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Magistrate was a matter of luck. The British Government laid down many restrictions in recruiting Indians to these posts. It was more restricted for the candidates from the Gadjat areas. Hence the only possibility left was a teachership in a High school.

It was at this time, he applied for a post of assistant teacher of a High school in Nayabasan Zamindari of Mayurbhanj State. Since he belonged to Khiching, the Maharaja, Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo asked him to write an essay on the Archaeological remains at Khiching in English. The Dewan Sri Kshitish Chandra Neyogi and the Maharaja vere highly satisfied with the performance of Krishna Chandra and instead of offering a teacher's job awarded him a scholarship of Rs. 50/- per month for prosecuting M.A. in ancient Indian history and culture in the Calcutta University. During his study at Calcutta he acquired good knowledge in all branches of Archaeology and Geography.

During his stay at Calcutta in the Bengal Boarding (located at the crossing of Harrison Road and Amherst Street), he came in contact with Pandit Binayak Misra (who was also staying in the same boarding). He learned from him a lot of things which he utilised in his research work. Pandit Misra was a part-time lecturer in the Calcutta University. Initially a teacher in a M.E. school at Nilgiri with ordinary qualification of vernacular, Pandit Misra could elevate himself to the position of a lecturer drawing the attention of Prof. B.C. Mazumdar and several other scholars at Calcutta University. He

never read English in school but in later life he wrote research books and papers in English of very high standard. Krishna Chandra was greatly encouraged by him.

Even after his M.A. qualification, Krishna Chandra found it very difficult to get a job. At this critical juncture, Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo rendered his unstinted help by offering him a job of Research Assistant at a monthly remuneration of Rs. 70/- per month. His job was to assist the eminent Archaeologist R.P. Chanda in editing old records and archaeological remains. Krishna Chandra was very happy to have a job with high remuneration of Rs. 70/- per month and to come in contact with the archaeologist R.P. Chanda.

Much before his M.A. career Krishna Chandra married Taramani Devi, the youngest daughter of Bharat Chandra Panda of Chhelia village near Bedasahi of the Mayurbhanj District. Since the financial condition of his family was very pathetic at his village, he had to live with his wife in Calcutta and later on at other places.

While working with R.P. Chanda he was deputed to Delhi to receive training in Archaeology from the Archaeological Survey of India. During his training period the Maharaja donated him Rs. 75/- per month in the first year and Rs. 100/- per month in the second year. After obtaining training in the Archaeological Survey of India, he got a chance to work as an Archaeological scholar and continued in the same post till 1944. During his tenure as a scholar in the Archaeological Survey of India, he associated himself in the excavations at Nalanda, Rajgir and Nandangarh in Bihar; Rajghat near Benaras and at Panchmadi in Madhya Pradesh and Ahichhatra and availed the chance of visiting the museums at Calcutta, Nalanda, Patna, Benaras, Sarnath, Allahabad, Mathura, Lucknow, Delhi, Taxila etc. While working in the excavation camp at Ahichhatra he was entrusted to work on the excavated pottery. After three years of continuous research on the pottery he wrote a very big research paper and handed it over to the then Director General Kasinath Narayan Dikshit. The Director General was overwhelmed to see such a scholarly paper and congratulated him. His paper was a matter of discussion for about fifteen days among the galaxy of scholars. Having been highly pleased, the Director General wrote a long letter to the Director Public

Instruction, Orissa in 1943 suggesting to absorb him in a suitable post. The extract of the letter of Prof. Dikshit is attached here:

"Orissa has yet been unable to look after the collection that have been assembled or can still be gathered together from all ends of the Province. The main difficulty is the want of a proper qualified person appointed as a Curator of the Museum which has been accorded the status of the Provincial Museum by the Government of Orissa. If a new post of the Curator cannot be created in connection with the new University, it would at least be possible to bring into existence a post of a lecturer or professor in the University with the additional charge of the Museum. This would enable the scholar appointed to keep himself in touch with the teaching activities of the University in the ancient history and enlarge and look after the existing collections of the Museum. I sincerely hope that such an appointment be created from the very start.

Fortunately a suitable scholar with initial qualifications and subsequent adequate training is available for such an appointment. I refer to Mr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi who passed his M.A. with Ancient Indian History in the Second Class in 1937 and has spent the last 6 years very usefully, first as a scholarship-holder from the Mayurbhanj State and then as a temporary employee of the Archaeological Department. Besides working in various investigations connected with the pre-historic and historic aspects of archaeology, Mr. Panigrahi has been able to make his contribution to a hitherto neglected line of Indian archaeology, viz., the study of Indian pottery. By working in the excavations at Ahichhatra which I have been carrying on for the last 3 years, he has been able to make original researches on the subject of the evolution of Indian pottery from the earliest times to the present day in which he has acquired for himself an unrivalled knowledge in this branch. He has also published articles on epigraphy and sculpture and he will be able to handle any problem connected with archaeology and museums. He has also worked before as a temporary Lecturer in History in the Ravenshaw College and is thus in every way suited for such work. Indeed, I feel that the special qualifications of Mr. Panigrahi entitle him to every consideration in the Utkal University which can hardly afford to engage a better qualified scholar whether from Orissa or outside. I shall be much obliged if you will kindly send me an acknowledgement of this letter and

inform me whether Mr. Panigrahi is likely to be absorbed in the capacity mentioned above in the Utkal University".

Krishna Chandra handed over a copy of this letter to the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj who instantly agreed to entrust him the administration of a region. On the auspicious *Gamhā Purṇamī (Rakṣābandhan)* day of 1945, the Maharaja offered him a Sanand in a special meeting of the Durbar announcing him to be in charge of administration of the Pandhaḍa-śāśan, located 18 miles away from Baripada. The total area of the Śāśan was 157 *māṇas* of land out of which an area of 35 *māṇas* was his *nijjot* land. In the later days Krishna Chandra disposed of the land for construction of his present building at Cuttack.

While at Delhi in 1943, one of his sons, aged 3 years died of typhoid. The bereaved mother left Delhi for ever. He was in a dilemma and was at a loss to decide what to do. Fortunately, he was appointed as a Lecturer of History in Sambalpur College in 1944 and continued there for about 3 years. The Director of Public Instruction then appointed him as Curator of the Provincial Museum at Cuttack which was finally shifted to Bhubaneswar in 1949. The Museum was first shifted to Brahmānandadhām of old Bhubaneswar, then to other places of the new capital and finally to the present State Museum building. He worked as Curator in the provincial Museum for about 2 years. The present Orissa State Museum owes him greatly. He toiled day and night in the collection of sculptures and other archaeological remains and displayed them in the Archaeology gallery. He collected as may as 200 sculptures and displayed them in the State Museum. It was during this time that he associated himself in the excavation of Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar and published a series of Oriya and English research papers and completed his famous book "Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar". Later on he submitted this treatise to the Calcutta University and was awarded the D. Phil Degree. The book got international recognition. This was displayed in an international book exhibition at Frankfurt in West Germany which earned him name and fame as a scholar of international repute. Later on the book was acccepted as a text book in the Oriental School of Art, London and also selected as a reference book in many Indian Universities.

During his Museum service he worked with late P. Acharya, Archaeologist, S.N. Rajaguru, Epigraphist, late K.N. Mahapatra, Historian, Sri. S.C. De, Archivist and late B.V. Nath, Numismatist and Historian. Being independent-minded he did not like to continue in the Museum service and hence joined as Lecturer in the Ravenshaw College in 1951. It has been mentioned earlier that he had a chance to work with R.P. Chanda as a Research Assistant. Later on he systematised the records and published them in the form of a book "Political Status of the Feudatory States of Orissa and Chhatisgarh" which incurred him displeasure in the political circles. In 1954 he realised that the chance of promotion to Reader was far remote. In 1954 he again joined the Archaeological Survey of India and was posted in the Patna circle and continued till 1961. During this period he worked in many places of India. In 1957 he was promoted to the post of Circle Superintendent. His children continued their studies in Hindi medium. So he did not like to come back to Orissa. But in the A.S.I. he did not pull on well. After rendering seven years of service in the A.S.I. he was not confirmed in the post though many of his contemporary colleagues got confirmation orders; his administrative powers were curtailed; his staff were put to harassment, thus humiliating him to an unbearable extent.

Under the tense situation he thought of resigning from both the posts of Superintendent, A.S.I. and Lecturer, Government of Orissa and taking up some other new assignment. He applied for the post of the Director, Archaeology in M.P. Sri A. Ghose, the then Director General, A.S.I. who attended the Public Service Commission, M.P. as an expert rejected the case of Dr. Panigrahi on the ground that he would not spare his services from the A.S.I. He then decided to take up a job in any newly opened university and hence tendred his resignation from both the posts. The A.S.I. accepted his resignation but the Government of Orissa declined to accept the resignation. There was no other alternative but to come back to Orissa. He came back to Bhubaneswar wtih his wife and two daughters leaving the sons in their field of studies. At that time his eldest son was a student of I.I.T., Bombay while the younger one was that of Higher Secondary School at Bhopal. After a long interval he was posted as a Reader in History in the Ravenshaw College, where one of his junior colleagues was the Professor. Humiliated Dr. Panigrahi represented again and again to post him in the State Museum in the

Reader's pay scale. Ultimately he had to continue in the Ravenshaw College. Under the circumstances he lost his mental balance and discontinued his long habit of writing. It was at this time, Dr. D.C. Sircar who was the Government Epigraphist in the A.S.I, resigned the post on protest and accepted the post of Professor in the Calcutta University. However, Dr. Panigrahi continued in the post of Reader for a long time and was appointed as Professor of History in the G.M. College Sambalpur only 10 days before his retirement. After serving as Professor for 10 days he retired from Government service from the Ist August, 1968. One and half months after his retirement he became Professor of History in the Berhampur University and continued there for about four years and retired from that post on the Ist June, 1972. Since then he worked as U.G.C. Professor for a long time. He received Orissa Sahitya Academy award in 1983 and Padmasree title from the President of India in 1976. After his retirement from the Government and the University jobs he maintained his writing habit despite ill-health.

After his retirement, Prof. Panigrahi finally settled down at Saanta Sahi of Cuttack city till his death. He has clearly noted in his book that he was always indifferent to the family affairs and the entire work of the family was efficiently managed by his wife Taramani Devi. His eldest son Barenya Kumar, an electrical engineer, who took up independent business as profession unfortunately passed away in December, 1985. The youngest son Hiranya Kumar, a metallurgical engineer is now working as an engineer in Rourkela Steel plant. The sudden death of his eldest son was the greatest shock to the ailing father. Since then he was almost bedridden, suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure. He had to fight strongly with his diseases as he did in his chequered service career.

His contribution to the scholarly world is immense. Certainly he could have contributed more had he been given due recognition and proper opportunity. The valuable books and research papers contributed by him to the scholarly world have been appended in this book separately.

His death on the 25th February, 1987 is an irreparable loss to the scholarly world. His eventful life is a life of struggle against injustice, nepotism and parochialism. He was endowed with heavenly qualities, unusual in common man. He was all along upright in his view-point and firm in his

decision and eccentric in temperament never surrendering himself to the whim of others and at the same time amiable and affectionate to those who loved him. His life and activities are a great lesson to the scholars in his line. The publication, his life-story in the commemoration volume to be brought out as a mark of tribute to such a great personality will, I hope, be of much use to historians, archaeologists, art-historians, connoisseurs of sculptural art and scholars of other allied disciplines.

Professor Panigrahi
As I Knew Him

K. Mojumdar

I had known Professor K.C. Panigrahi for about thirty five years, first as his pupil, then as his colleague, and all along, like most others, as one of his ardent admirers.

We found him a conscientous teacher, punctual in coming to the class and never wasting a minute either in pleasantries or homilies. Himself very serious in his job, he could infuse in us the needed seriousness in studies. He dictated the lectures on history of Orissa, then a new but compulsory study, without any notes whatever, not even a slip of paper. We were struck by his phenomenal memory and the thorough preparation of the themes before coming to the class. He never told us that much of what he dictated to us were his own interpretation of many an issue, and as such his original contribution to the history of Orissa. He received his Ph.D. degree while we were his pupils, but he never told us about, far less bragging about the fact that he was the first historian of Orissa to have earned a Ph.D. in History. Humility was his natural trait.

He and I joined the History Department of Berhampur University together, and both were then unemployed, he having just retired from Orissa Educational Service, and I having resigned my job at Nagpur University four years earlier. For a few months we shared a house, with just a wall separating his part of the tenement from mine. We never discussed anything about the Department, not even the common problems we faced in it. I cooked food for myself and occasionally invited him to share it with me. Never he told me about his academic achievements although he would always freely dilate on

his academic interests. He was proud of his intimate association with great historians and archaeologists, Indian and Englishmen, some being his teachers at the University of Calcutta.

As Head of the Post-Graduate Departments of Berhampur University, he functioned very well, disposing off files quickly, guiding the staff effectively, never upbraiding any one and yet maintaining perfect order and discipline. He was indeed a father figure, so to speak, ever watchful to avoid a lapse and always considerate and understanding of others' problems. His office work was no excuse for dropping classes or not guiding research work. I worked *with* him, as a pupil, not *under* him, as a subordinate. He was formal and informal, depending on the existing situation and the nature of work at hand.

He left Berhampur University in 1972 but his fame as a scholar and his endearing manners were talked about till I left the University five years later. I never failed to see him whenever I went to Cuttack, although, as Mrs. Panigrahi sadly told me, his callers were few and far between. He studiedly maintained his accustomed reticence in respect of the many trouble he faced all his life; he never asked me about persons whom he knew well, made my life none too happy; he seemed to have followed the 18th century English adage, "Gentlemen discuss issues, servants talk about persons". Until a few years before he passed away, he kept regretting his inability to complete the work assigned to him by Berhampur University, although none seemed to have remainded him of his commitment. He frankly told me of his feeling of guilt in not being able to complete the assignment.

His last years were indeed tragic, but as ever, he did not tell me of his sorrows; he seemed to have firmly believed that private feelings were not for public display. He sat listless before me, occasionally a wry smile was the only response to all that I had asked him. But then, he would remind Mrs. Panigrahi that tea had not been served to me yet. I knew he was sinking fast.

The last time I had met him was just two weeks before he passed away. I got the news in a local daily at Nagpur. My first reaction to this tragic news was to see his picture intently for sometime—the picture which I have fondly preserved along with a few others' picture, the few, very few, indeed, whom I remember on occasions when I am very glad, and also when I am very sad.

Prof. K.C. Panigrahi
Tribute To A Teacher

Dr. B.K. Rath

It was in 1968 I first met this great personality. I was then a fifth year student of Post-Graduate Class in History of the Berhampur University. For the first time M.A. classes in History alongwith Political Science and Oriya had been started by the University. Teachers from the Khallikote College of Berhampur were teaching us in the beginning. Around October, 1968 regular recruitment to the posts of Professor, Reader and Lecturer were made. I remember, distinctly, one evening my uncle, Late G.C. Rath, who was then Registrar of tne Berhampur University, told me that Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, a reputed scholar, had been appointed as Professor of History. I had no knowledge about Dr. Panigrahi and his achievements at that time.

Thus with trepidation in our heart we waited in the Department one day to receive Prof. Panigrahi. Dr. K.M. Mojumdar, who had then joined as Reader and who was a direct student of Prof. Panigrahi, had given us an introduction of Prof. Panigrahi. When we first met him I got the impression of a simple but very knowledgeable personality. Soon this was confirmed in the classroom. From the very beginning I was destined to be a privileged student of the Professor. In the class-room his teaching was absorbing and outside the class-room he was affectionate. This fact would be attested by the other students of the University at that time.

One thing which comes to my mind about his dedication as a teacher was that he once insisted upon with the University authorities for a field study grant for the students of the special group on history and culture of Orissa. Accordingly, we, two students came to Bhubaneswar for the study of art and

architecture. He took us around all the monuments of Bhubaneswar and that was the first occasion when I got attracted to art and architecture of Orissa and in later life I could understand his insistance for the importance of field study.

Prof. Panigrahi's contribution as a historian to the study of Orissan history is immense. His various works in English and Oriya are *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis of Orissa, History of Orissa* (Hindu period), *Sāralā Dasa Sāralā Sahityare Aitihasika Citra* (Oriya), *Itihasa O Kimbadanti* (Oriya), *Prabandha Manasa* (Oriya) and *Mo Samayar Oḍiśā.* (Oriya). In addition he was the author of a large number of articles in English and Oriya. Some of his articles in English have been published in reputed historical research journals both inside and outside the country.

The most important thing to notice in his writings was his natural intuition of getting at the historial truth and scientific analysis. It would not be out of place here to cite two or three examples. In 1961 when he wrote on the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis he had identified Indraratha as a historical personality. This was confirmed later with the discovery of a copper plate charter of Indraratha from Banpur. Secondly, while writing his book on the archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar he had discussed the Raktavāhu tradition of Mādalāpāñji and said that it was nothing but a distorted version of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa during the early Bhauma-Kara rule. This fact has been confirmed after the discovery of two copper plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa families in Orissa viz. Bargarh plates of Parachakrasalya and Deogaon plates of Mugdhagonḍaladeva. Thirdly, his fixation of chronologies of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis in 1961 has stood the test of time even with the discovery of new evidences in later period. No doubt he used to tell us in the class room that one should try to arrive at the truth but nothing else on the basis of historical evidences.

This basic factor guided all his works and one can easily see that he was above any personal bias or regional fervour in all his writings on history of Orissa.

Another great quality of Prof. Panigrahi was that he was never rigid in his view points. He welcomed any attempt to reject his views on historical

facts with right arguments based on evidences. In my long association of 18 years with him as his student I have never heard him personally criticising any other scholar who was opposed to his views on certain facts of history. No doubt he believed in criticising the views of others in his writings but he never did it on personal level. He even encouraged his students to reject his theories in their respective research projects working under his guidance. This fact can be known from the works of his students where they have rejected his views on certain aspects.

In course of my career and contact with different archaeologists outside Orissa, I found that he was regarded as one of the greatest archaeologists of the time. Prof. Panigrahi was the first person in the country to initiate scientific study on ancient pottery. He wrote a paper on the ancient pottery for the first time during the excavation at Ahichhatra in Uttar Pradesh. In Orissa he was also the first person to initiate scientific study on iconography and architecture. Much was written on Orissan architecture before him and even now scholars are writing on his aspect. But Prof. Panigrahi for the first time in his masterpiece *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, classified Orissan temples on the basis of their architectural style.

He was equally prolific in his writings in Oriya. He has done commendable research in Sāralā Dāsa's *Mahābhāratā* and historical value of Mādalāpāñji and no doubt for his erudition in Oriya writing he was awarded by the Orissa Sahitya Academy in 1983. His latest work *History of Orissa* (Hindu period) is also a good work. I was closely associated in the publication of this work. Prof. Panigrahi would have completed the second part of his History of Orissa and History of Orissan Art, which was entrusted to him by the Berhampur University, but he could not fulfil this desire as old age and physical ailment did not allow him to do this service to our State. The long personal suffering in his life and the sad untimely demise of his eldest son a year ago made him totally bed-ridden and heart-broken.

All along his life Prof. Panigrahi lived a simple and humble life. He was never afraid to raise his voice for right cause and truth. He never bargained his position for favours. During my long association with him he was like a fatherly figure to me and at each step he had guided me in my research work and study. I can never forget his help and advice to me, whenever I sought

them. His sad demise was a personal loss to me. At various places and moments the mere saying of "I am a student of Prof. K.C. Panigrahi" has given me a sense of dignity and brought me help and encouragement from different quarters.

"*Gururbrahmā Guruviṣṇu Gurudeva Maheśvaraḥ*
Gurursākṣāt Parambrahmam tasmai Śrī Gurave namaḥ" ||

Calender of Events and Works of Prof. K.C. Panigrahi

Sri B. Samal

1909—Born at Khiching, Dist. Mayurbhanj, Orissa.

1931—Passed Matriculation Examination from Baripada High School, Mayurbhanj.

1935—Passed B.A. with Honours in History from Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1937—Passed M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Calcutta University.

1937-1944—Worked as Archaeological Scholar under the Archaeological Survey of India.

1944—Joined as Lecturer in History, G.M. College, Sambalpur, Orissa.

1947-1951—Worked as Curator, Provincial Museum, Orissa.

1951-1954—Functioned as Lecturer in History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1954—Awarded D. Phil degree from Calcutta University on the subject "Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar".

1954-1957—Functioned as Asst. Superintendent of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India.

1957-1961—Worked as Superintendent of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India.

1961-1968—Worked as Reader in History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1968—Functioned as Prof. of History, G.M. College, Sambalpur for 10 days only.

1968-1972—Worked as Prof, and Head of the P.G. Dept. of History, Berhampur University, Orissa.

1975—Onwards—Functioned as U.G.C. Professor of History in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

1972—Received cash award of Rs. 1000/- from Prajatantra Prachara Samiti, Cuttack.

1975—Received Orissa Sahitya Akademi Felicitation.

1976—Awarded Padmasree by the President of India.

1983—Received Orissa Sahitya Academy award for his book entitled "Mo Samayara Orissa".

1987—February 25th, Expired at Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja Medical College Hospital, Cuttack.

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SECTION – I
Archaeology

1

DAILY LIFE OF PRE-HISTORIC MAN IN KARNATAKA

A.V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Ever since the discovery of a stone tool at Pallavaram near Madras in 1863 by Robert Bruce Foote, studies connected with pre and proto historic South India has been going on steadily. We in Karnataka should be specially grateful to Foote because he discovered a large number of pre-historic sites and collected a huge quantity of tools which laid firm foundations for the study and research in pre-historic Karnataka.[1] Though our studies are more than hundred years old, one thing has to be admitted that most of these studies were confined to the collection and study of the tools and typology seems to have occupied a very prominent place. Thus most of the early studies are typo-technological in nature. Sampat Iyengar, M. Seshadri, R.V. Joshi, Col. Todd and others of the early period concentrated on typological classifications as it ought to be in the beginning.[2] But the recent trend has been to understand and interpret the tools and other materials discovered in such a way as to understand the life of the man who made and used them. Such studies are fortunately attracting younger scholars like Paddaya, Pappu and others.[3] With the help of the studies undertaken by these scholars it has become possible to understand the daily life of the pre and proto historic Karnataka.

As it is well known, man was moving from place to place in search of game and food in the early stages of his existence. This was particularly true of the early stone age. Mostly he was moving on the river banks because the animals used to go there for drinking water which he could easily hunt and

secondly he also required water for his own living. Thus most of the early stone age tools have been found on the river banks and terraces. Fortunately, a camp site of the early stone age man has been discovered by Paddayya of the Deccan college. This is the first of the kind in India and hence important for understanding the life of pre-historic man. At Hunsgi in Gulburga district of Karnataka, he excavated an Acheulian site specially made as a camp site by the man of the period.[4] Boulders were brought and arranged in a particular way and tools were manufactured on the spot. Such camp sites have been found in Africa and Europe and their discovery in Karnataka is of great significance. Ranganathapura, Karadigudda, Talya, Kadur, Nidaghatta, Lingadahalli, Nyamati, Kibbanahalli, Khyad, Hiremoolangi, Menagi and many other sites have yielded tools of the Abbevillian and Acheulian traditions. The rough hand axes he was using were suitable for killing the animals and also to remove the roots of the trees from the earth. As the animals of the period were huge and strong it is suspected that men co-operated in hunting and killing operations and also distributed the game among themselves. It is also likely that after eating the meat of the animals he used the skin of the animals to cover himself during the rainy and cold seasons. Perhaps he took shelter in natural caves. As was the case in the neighbouring areas, elephant, hippopotamus, horse, rhinoceros, cattle, pig etc might have been the animals which he hunted. As no skeletons of the early stone age man has been found, it has not been possible to know the type of this man. Taking his tradition of the hand axes which he used, it has been suggested that he might have belonged to the group of Asian man though African man also could have had a part in it. As most of his time was spent in the preparation of tools and collection of food by hunting it is likely that he could not devote much time and energy for other aspects of culture. However, no such traits have been found here.

Gradually, there was a change in the climate by the end ot pleistocene. Consequently, big and huge animals became extinct and gave place to smaller animals which became quite popular. In keeping with this change man also changed his mode of life. Instead of big and rough hand axes he began manufacturing smaller tools in finer stones like jasper, chalcedony, chert and agate. These tools are mostly flake tools used with handles so that they could serve as arrows on hunting. Thus hunting with a bow and an arrow became

quite popular during this period. Most of the small tools which are like blades, scrapers, triangles etc are highly useful for working on the hide or the skin of the animals. Some of the tools like points are so fine that they might have been used as needles to stitch hides and skins. Such tools are found in Nittoor, Sangalakallu, Brahmagiri, Salvadgi and other places.

The next stage shows further technological and cultural development of man. There was a further change in the climatic conditions. Lakes and grass lands became dominant and this necessitated a change in his tool-kit. The fine grained stones like agate, chalcedony, chert became more popular as he could fashion very minute tools and fine parallel-sided blades and knives from these stones. These were used for shaping the handles of wood and bone and making fine arrows and bows. Another significant discovery was fishing which augmented his food gathering avocation to a great extent. Lunates, crescents, awls, triangles, trapezes which are found in many places like Jalahalli, Salvadgi, Brahmagiri, Kibbanahalli are so fine and superior in execution that they show great technological progress. With this superior technology their way of life also changed. Now food gathering was not so difficult as they used bows and arrows. Perhaps women folk could now assist in fishing which augmented their food production. They must have got more leisure which they used for cultural pursuits like religion and art. But in Karnataka we have not been able to discover evidences for these aspects at this level. But taking the examples of other places in India it can be surmised that these people lived in rock-shelters and attempted painting in ochre and white colours on the faces of the rocks. Perhaps, people began to live in groups at least for a temporary period. Group dances were common among them.

The next stage is the neolithic period, the most significant period in the evolution of culture of pre-historic man. In fact, this period has been rightly termed revolution by Gordon Childe because of the significant new discoveries that were made during this period. The stone tools were made of fine grained stone and were highly polished and no longer they were rude and rough. Apart from this technological superiority of the tools, the period witnessed more important social changes and developments. The migratory type of living was no longer in practice; a life of settled villages began to appear. They became food producers. They domesticated animals and used

them for their well-being. Agriculture was started. Pottery is another important innovation of the period. These people also learnt the technology of copper and other metals and ushered in chalcolithic period. From all these discoveries they got more leisure which they utilised for religion and art.

They usually organised small villages and laid firm foundations for sedentary life. Generally they lived on flat surfaces on hills and hillocks where stones and rocks were available in plenty for manufacturing tools. Every family had a small hut of one room. The huts were generally circular being supported by bamboos in a circular way with one in the centre. The circular hut at Hallur had a diameter of three metres.[5] Perhaps the hut had a sloping roof all around. At Tekkalakota and Sanganakallu are seen boulders giving support to the bamboos all round.[6] The floor was made with metal and red earth and was given a coating of lime. However, in Hemmige the house was rectangular.[7] Usually at the north of the hut was the hearth; perhaps, it was the kitchen as storage jars, copper axes and pottery are found there. It has been surmised that seven to eight people might have lived in each of these huts. Ground and polished selts, ring stones, hammers were most popular tools. Some bone tools have also been found at Tekkalakota and Sanganakallu. Agriculture and animal husbardry were the most important professions of the people. Though we have no idea of the agricultural operations, the implements they used are a positive proof of their growing various grains. Hallur has given evidence of growing ragi which is still the staple food in rural Karnataka. According to Carbon-14 dating, this could go back to 1600 B.C. In fact, this is a crop of Africa and how and when it came to Karnataka has yet to be worked out. In this connection it is worth noting that head-rests found at Hallur and T. Narasipur in the neolithic level are similar to the ones found in Egypt. Whether neolithic people had trade or cultural contacts with Africa is yet to be established firmly on the basis of the above evidence. Horse-gram is another grain found in the excavations at Tekkalakota.

Cow, ox, donkey, dog, sheep, deer are some of the animals known to them as evidenced by bones and paintings. Utnur[8], Kupgal[9], and Kodekal have given evidences of huge ash mounds which represent burnt cow-dung. This also proves that they domesticated cattle, particularly cow. Carpentry, making mats (as proved by the mat impression on pottery), weaving with

spindle whorls, making ornaments etc are their other avocations. They used ornaments such as bangles, necklaces, beads, finger and ear rings, carnelian beads.

Their funerary customs are also interesting. They buried their dead in their house itself. Children were buried in pots kept in small pits. Pots were generally kept near the dead-bodies. Pottery head-rests found in the burials at T. Narasipur[10] and Hallur are interesting. During the end of this period, as evidenced at Hallur and Tekkalakota, dead-bodies were kept in a series of pots. They also practised the other type in which the body was exposed first and later the bones were collected and buried. Very rarely we find twin skeletons in a single pit.

The neolithic people in Karnataka were artistic too. They painted the pottery with linear designs and pictures of animals. Most of the paintings are done in rock shelters by using ochre colour. They are generally line drawings of various animals such as cow, ox, deer, sheep, and men in various poses including dance postures. They are very natural and perhaps had religious significance. Raichur, Hirebenakal, Piklihal, Bellary and Sanganakallu have such paintings.[11]

From the skeletal remains it has been known that the people responsible for this culture were proto-Austroloids and Mediterraneans. Even now, these two racial elements are present in Karnataka. From the charcoal samples that have been found in the excavations at Hallur and other places, it has been surmised that this culture flourished between 2500 to 1000 B.C.

In course of time, a new wave of people came here around 1000 B.C. They had better equipments made of iron and hence they overpowered the neolithic people gradually. As these people built huge and complicated stone graves, they are also called the Megalithic people. They built stone circles of different varieties such as, dolmens, cists, caves and buried their dead. However, what is more interesting to us is, their way of life. Their graves are so huge, complicated, well-laid out that it must have consumed major part of their time and energy. This is possible if only they had sufficient man power based on social and co-operative basis. Perhaps, a section of the population specialised in building the graves and these people must have been supported by the extra production of the other people. Thus this system hints at the economic surplus to support a section of the Megalithic population. Another

important deduction that can be made out from these graves is the different strata of economic levels of the people. Some of the graves are huge, better worked and they contain rich and elaborate grave goods which are rich both in pottery, iron objects and beads. Some are very simple from their typology as also from their grave goods. Justifiably, we can differenciate these graves as belonging to the rich and the poor or those of the chiefs and the commoners. Whatever may be their interpretation, they hint at either economic or social stratification among the Megalithic people.

Their pottery included richer variety such as Black and Red; sometimes with ornamentations, variety of graffity marks. The shapes also include many types such as huge storage jars, three-legged and four-legged jars, sarcophagus, spouted vessels etc. Agriculture was their main occupation. They even built tanks for this purpose. They grew rice, and ragi as found in the excavations. Hunting, fishing and animal husbandry continued. Weaving, bead making, metallurgy were other professions. They adorned themselves with ornaments made of gold, copper, iron, ivory and various stones. Their necklaces of conch-shells are interesting.

Their knowledge of iron technology is equally interesting. They manufactured long swords, knives, sickles, tongs, twisters, pins, arrowheads, lances, ropes, axes, adzes and various other types of iron objects which have been found in their graves. Thus they had a rich variety in the objects made of iron.

Though we have no direct evidence regarding the religion of the Megalithic people, there can be no doubt that the cult of the dead was an important aspect of their religious life. The life after death can be deduced from the offerings of food and drinks and other goods kept in the graves. Terracotta animal figures may also suggest animism. The Terracotta female figures may suggest the worship of mother goddess. The worship of iron trident like objects have been interpreted as having connection with Siva.

That they were great artists is proved by the paintings found on rocks. Riders on horses, men holding various weapons, a man hunting a tiger, community dance of men and women, animals like deer, dog, peacock are some of the popular themes found in their paintings. Most of these are in ochre colour.

There is a controversy regarding the authors of the Megalithic culture. But majority of the archaeologists consider Dravidian speakers as the authors of this culture. Racially, they are neither too tall nor too dwarfish, flat-nosed and people having strong jaws. These people lived in and around 1000 B.C. to about the early historic period in Karnataka. As we have at Isila, the Asokan town, the Megalithic period is succeeded by the early historic culture also called Andhra culture by Wheeler and other early archaeologists. In fact, there is a possibility that the Asokan edict at Brahmagiri has been addressed to these Megalithic people. If that is so, it becomes clear that the Megalithic people had a knowledge of Brahmi script and Prakrit language. At present, however, there is no other evidence to prove this point.

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2

SOME NEW PALAEOLITHIC ASSEMBLAGES FROM MAYURBHANJ

R.P. PRUSTY

A systematic study in the field of Palaeolithic culture of Orissa commenced with the explorations and excavations carried out in the Mayurbhanj district since 1939. The works were mainly confined to Kuliana, its surrounding villages and the river Burhabalang (Bose & Sen-1948). Subsequent to this work at Kuliana some lower palaeolithic vestiges were brought to light in 1939 from the detrital laterite at Bangriposi which lies at a distance of 17 kms from Kuliana (Sen & Ghosh, 1956). Mohapatra in 1958 located about ten lower palaeolithic sites in the course of his extensive investigation on the rivers like Khadkei, Burhabalang, Suvarnarekha and their tributaries (Mahapatra, 1962). In 1987 two palaeolithic sites were recovered within a distance of 3 kms to the south of Bangriposi Block headquarters and near the villages like Gudgudiasạhi Sialijodi. These sites are situated at an elevation of about 305' above the mean sea level. This greater elevation of this area is due to its proximity to the hills which commence at about 3 kms away to the north-west and attain heights of over 1000 feet. Both the sites are stratified sites located in the quarries and are lying parallel to each other on the river, Burhabalang having been separated by a distance of 2 kms. In this paper a brief study of the lower palaeolithic assemblage from the two sites has been made to find out their cultural affinity with the Mayurbhanj Lower Palaeolithic complex.

Sites:

Gudgudiasahi (22°9' N, 86° 32' E) constituting a part of Bangriposi Block headquarters, is located near the left bank of the river in the east and beside the Bangriposi-Shyamsundarpur road. It is a stratified site exposed as a result of quarrying the murum for construction of roads. The section of the quarry has a maximum height of 5'. The top most layer of 1' 6" is a brown recent soil underlying a laterite gravel deposit of 2' height that contains coarse quartzite gravels. The rest 1'6" is bedrock. Only two hand axes have been collected from the lateriate gravel layer and the other artifacts are from the quarry surface. Sialijodi (22° 13' N and 86° 32' E) is situated beside the Bangriposi-Kusumibandh road in the north-east of the village. The river Burabalang is in the north-west at a distance of about 1 km. Sialijodi is also a stratified lower palaeolithic site coinciding, in all respect, with that of Gudgudiasahi. The top most layer consists of the recent brown soil of 8" in thickness underlying a laterite gravel of 4" thick. This layer is implementiferous and one hand axe was picked up in situ. In all probability the tools derived extra situ from both the sites have originated from the laterite gravel layers.

The tool assemblages from both the sites include hand axes, cleavers, scrapers, choppers, corebifaces and flakes with hand axes scoring highest frequency, i.e., over 43% in SJD and 55% in GDS(T.I.). The tools of both the industries have a single category of material like quartzite. Besides one SJD, all other tools in both the industries are unrolled. Majority of the tools carry red ferrugenous stain.

The majority of hand axes (90% in SJD, all in GDS) are on the core and about 60% of these tools retain pebble cortex in varying degrees either on the butt, body or from the anterior to the posterior.

Lengths of the SJD hand axes range from 118 mm. to 199mm, the majority fall between 142mm and 199mm with a mean of 156mm. In GDS industry the lengths range from 87mm to 219 mm and the majority fall between 133mm and 219mm with a mean length of 145mm. Thus the lengths of the majority of hand axes from both the industries fall in the larger class and comparatively the SJD hand axes are larger than that of the GDS industry. In weight the SJD hand axes range from 120gm to 485gm with two hand axes being massive in weight. The mean weight is 728gms. The GDS

hand axes range from 270gms to 1299gms with largest concentration in 542 and 1299 and the mean weight is 741gms. In both the industries the mark of concentration shows that the majority of hand axes are large and heavy.

Table - I

Artefact categories from two sites

	SJD		GDS	
	No.	%	No.	%
Hand axes	10	43.47	10	55.55
Cleavers	6	26.08	2	11.11
Choppers	3	13.04	2	11.11
Scrapers	1	4.34		
Flakes	2	8.68	3	16.66
Cores	1	4.34	1	5.55
Totals	23	99.95	18	99.98

SJD = Sialijodi. GDS = Gudgudiasahi

The majority of hand axes (90% in SJD, all in GDS) are on core and about 60% of these tools retain pebble cortex in varying degrees either on the butt, body or from anterior to posterior.

Lengths of the SJD hand axes range from 118 mm to 199 mm; the majority fall between 142 mm and 199 mm with a mean of 156 mm. In GDS industry the lengths range from 87 mm to 219 mm and the majority fall between 133 mm and 219 mm with a mean length of 145 mm. Thus the lengths of the majority of handaxes from both the industries fall in the larger class and comparatively the SJD hand axes are larger than that of the GDS industry. In weight the SJD hand axes range from 485 gms to 1205 gm with the largest concentration in 535 gm and 1205 gm. The mean weight is 705 gm. The GDS hand axes range from 270 gm to 1299 gm with the largest concentration in 542 gm and 1299 gm and the mean weight is 741 gm. In both the industries the mark of concentration shows that the majority of hand axes are large and heavy.

The facial modification in case of majority of hand axes is mainly characterised by the big primary scars which in number are 10 in GDS and 12 in SJD per hand axe on the average. They are bold and crude presenting hinge and step terminations and, in most of the hand axes, a bi-patterned orientation of the faces. The small scars are distributed along the longer sides. Hand axes of 60% in SJD and 70% in GDS have facial modification through

these two categories of scars in which large and bold scars suggesting application of hard hammer dominate. In addition to this there are three hand axes—a broad oval, a pointed oval and an amygdali which show facial modification mainly through the multiple small scars. In the pointed oval the modification has been in full coverage of both the faces retaining fairly shallow scars. Flaking is multi-directional. The margins are regular and continuous that symmetrically converge to form a pointed appex. Butt is trimmed round, thin and sharp with the soft hammer. In the broad oval and amygdali hand axes the facial modification has been through the small step scars retaining small cortical patches at the butt. The margins are regular and sharp. The cleavers in the assemblage score 26.08% in the SJD and 11.11% in GDS industries. All the cleavers from GDS are made on flake blanks. In SJD 16.66% cleavers are on flake blanks and the rest 83.33% are on the core. Each cleaver in the collection from both industries has been characterised on the basis of the physical conditions, as being a distinct type and as such there are six categories of cleavers in SJD and two categories in GDS (T.2). All the cleavers excepting one in SJD are unifacially modified. In majority of cases the margins are prepared by alternate flaking and the cross sections are parallelogramoid. Their service edges in case of 33.33% are transversely made, in other 33.33% the service are unibivelled. Rest of the cleavers have straight and thick working edges. The edge line of the cleavers in SJD varies from convex to obliquely straight. The butts are circular and straight.

Table - 2
Cleaver categories from two sites

	SJD No.	%	GDS No.	%
Parallel straight	2	33.33		
Convergent oblique	1	16.66		
Divergent convex	1	16.66		
Divergent straight	1	16.66		
Parallel convex	1	16.66		
Convergent splay			1	50
Parallel transverse	-		1	50
	6	99.97	2	100

SJD and GDS have choppers in the assemblages that constitute over 9% and 11% respectively of the total number of tools. The choppers from both the industries fall into three different classes characterised by the end choppers, side choppers and end-cum-side choppers which are in relative frequency. They are bifacially modified on the blanks like pebbles, core, core and flake retaining irregular convex edges. In the core chopper the convex upper face intersects the under which is made fairly flat and plain. Of these core choppers one has a pointed butt and in case of other it is nearly rectangular.

The flakes constitute a non-tool category scoring above 9% in SJD and 16% in GDS industries. Among these specimens one is a bipolar flake in the form of a side chopper, the other shows some Levalloisian features with a low angled (90°) facetted platform and a bulbar scar. From rest of the flakes one shows a very high angled facetted platform (135°).

The assemblages in both the industries show that the individual tool type is almost in relative frequency with a deviation in case of scraper and cleaver. The scraper in SJD marks 4.54% of the assemblages whereas in GDS industry it is conspicuous by its absence.

These industries of Mayurbhanj under discussion are heterogeneous in character. These are core-dominated industries characterised mainly by the crudeness of technology where flakes are in minority. In the tool category hand axe is the major tool type.

The GDS and SJD lower palaeolithic industries have close affinity with that of Bangriposi and Kuliana. Typo-technologically, the GDS and SJD tools have similarity with the tools collected by Mohapatra which show a mediocre skill in their manufacture. Sen and Ghosh traced a range of typo-technological development of their Bangriposi industry from crude Abbevillian to the early Acheulian (1956). Similarly, Mishra assigned Kuliana assemblages to the earlier Acheulian phase "because of its high percentages of chopper chopping tools and bifaces, low percentages of non-biface tools made on flakes, high ratios of hand axes to cleavers, low incidences of blades and Levalliois flakes and a predominance of the stone hammer technique" (Raju-21). In view of all these characteristic features the SJD and GDS lower palaeolithic industries may be assigned to the Early Acheulian phase of the European Palaeolithic Culture.

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3

PAINTED ROCK-SHELTER AT MANIKMUNDA, ORISSA-REVISITED

S.B. OTA

Ancient rock paintings are not uncommon to Orissa. Most of these paintings are found in rock-shelters confined to the Eastern Ghats of Western Orissa. Some of the major sites of this region are Ulapgarh and Vikramkhol in the district of Sambalpur, Manikmunda and Ushakothi in the district of Sundargarh and Gudahandi and Yogimatha in the Kalahandi district. The rock paintings at these sites constitute a fertile field for inquiry and it is quite likely that the area might have even richer potentialities.

Earlier attempts at studying these paintings have primarily been concerned with assigning them hypothetically to various pre-historic and historical phases. The trend, so far, has been to focus on the paintings in isolation. No substantial efforts have yet been made to recover additional evidence to human occupation in these rock-shelters. Seeking such information would be indispensable if the paintings are to be viewed as part of a larger cultural context. Considering the situation the immediate need is, therefore, to plan and undertake systematic explorations in this region with the intention of looking for sites where rock paintings occur in association with other archaeological remains. To locate such sites would be the first step before further detailed studies are undertaken. The present report represents a preliminary move in this direction. It aims at presenting some observations on the Manikmunda rock-shelter in the district of Sundargarh, made by the author during a recent visit in July, 1988. This huge painted rock-shelter surrounded by thick vegetation, is located about 7 kms. to the south of village

Hemgiri. Since its discovery the site has been visited from time to time by several scholars partly because it is easily approachable. Some of the interesting features at the site have, however, remained unnoticed. The present paper attempts to highlight some of them.

The rock-shelter at Manikmunda has the largest single painted panel in Orissa. Here, the paintings have been superimposed several times over and are painted both in red oxide and white colours. The paintings are thematically diverse, portraying both human and a variety of animal figures including hunting scenes, fighting, dancing, domesticated animals as well as geometric signs and patterns etc. Besides these depictions, a bold engraved, wavy line can also be seen on the wall of the shelter. The red pigment used in the paintings is taken from hematite which is available in a patch on the wall just above the floor of the shelter. The white pigment is most likely lime, procured from some near by source. It is being generally accepted that the paintings represent a record of a long tradition of painting activity, scholars (Pathy, 1984, Dash, 1987) have attempted to attribute them to successive cultural phases from the Mesolithic to early historical times. In making such chronological claims, scholars have, by and large, considered stylistic and thematic criteria as the principal indicators of time related changes.

Present Observations:

The following are some of the observations made by the author on this painted rock-shelter at Manikmunda.

The existing shelter is probably just a remnant of what must have originally been a larger shelter. The presence of debris comprising huge boulders outside the shelter is an indicator of the existence of a former over-hanging roof. A good number of microliths were recovered from below the roof debris. These microlithic artefacts are, however, firmly overlain by the debris and hidden beneath a thick vegetational cover. It can, therefore, be asserted that the collapsing of the roof was a post-microlithic phenomenon. The microliths occur up to a distance of about 30' from the mouth of the shelter, after which there is a sudden drop in the rock surface. It is apparent that the original shelter, which has now collapsed, overlooked a huge erosional gully covered with thick vegetation. From the present mouth of the shelter the ground surface slopes down about 5' towards the cliff. From the artefactual scatter and the position of the rock-shelter, it may be inferred that

the main activities during pre-historic times were largely confined to the original mouth portion of the shelter, i.e., the collapsed portion. It is interesting to note that the microliths occur in a more or less primary context. Not much disturbance can be expected as the occupational debris is firmly embedded under the roof debris, thick vegetational cover and the surface does not show any sign of substantial erosion. Moreover, the moss on the surface has rendered the sediment compact and stable, thereby restricting the possibility of soil movement. Therefore, if excavated, there is every chance of recovering some evidence of pre-historic human activity inside the shelter. Such evidence would provide some clue as to the date of these paintings, besides, putting them in a proper cultural framework.

Another interesting aspect is the presence of a number of grooves or pot-hole like features on the present shelter floor. These holes are funnel-shaped with a diameter at the mouth ranging between 10 to 13 cms and 15 to 25 cms deep. The inner surface of these holes is smooth. It is possible that these were used either for grinding or for removing husk from the grain. Beyond throwing open a possibility, it is difficult at the moment to make any conclusive claim as regards the cultural significance of such features.

Microlithic Assemblage:

As mentioned above, the most notable feature of the site is the occurrence of microliths in the collapsed roof debris in front of the shelter. The Manikmunda shelter acquires greater importance in being one among the few rock-shelters in Orissa known to yield stone age materials. Further exploratory surveys of the region might however bring to light more of such evidence. The microlithic finds at Manikmunda shelter call for further investigation by way of excavations aimed at reconstructing pre-historic human activity in the shelter. In addition, excavations could also furnish information relating to chronological aspects of the paintings.

As most of the area in front of the shelter is covered with collapsed roof debris and also with dense vegetation, a total collection of only 86% artefacts (see Table) was made from the surface. The present assemblage (see figure) comprises both modified and simple artefacts. Blades are thin and small in size. They have been detached from prepared platforms and blade cores of both uni-directional and bi-directional types have been identified. The round scraper is very small in size. Of the simple artefacts, some show utilisation

marks. Thermal fracture due to heat treatment has been noticed on a few artefacts. The most noteworthy feature of this assemblage is the occurrence of a solitary chisel. It is ground and polished at the working end. The occurrence of a large quantity of simple artefacts along with a few utilised and modified artefacts suggest that the site could have been a habitational-cum-factory site.

The artefacts are quite fresh. Raw materials used for fabricating artefacts comprises mostly chert, chalcedony and quartz. Quartzite, as raw material, is rarely used. Artefacts on chert and chalcedony are fabricated on river pebbles. Chert and chalcedony as raw materials in the form of pebbles are available in the nullah bed which is about 200 mts south-west of the shelter. Whereas quartz occurs in the form of veins and pockets in the area.

On the basis of typo-technology, it could be suggested that the present assemblage probably belongs either to a transition period from Mesolithic to Neolithic or could exclusively belong to the Neolithic period. The mixture of both advanced blade technology and polishing and grinding technique, as observed on the chisel, indicates such a possibility. As the present collection of artefacts is very meagre, the claim being made here is purely tentative and subject to revision.

Besides being an account of the following inquiries of Manikmunda rock shelter, the main intention of this paper has been to suggest avenues for future research. It envisions the undertaking of exploratory efforts in search of further evidence of pre-historic life in the rock shelter sites of Orissa.

Another concluding point that deserves mention is the pressing need to protect a fast-vanishing archaeological record. The Manikmunda site is no exception to such a threat. The rock shelter has been used as a picnic spot. Contemporary graffitti has, in many places, replaced and thereby damaged the ancient paintings. Besides, natural agencies here also contributed to the damage of the site, although to a lesser extent. The extent of the loss is immense and disheartening indeed. It is unfortunate that the destruction has so far gone unchecked. The archaeological record is a repository of our ancient tradition and deserves to be preserved for posterity. As archaeologists, we must take on this task as an inseparable part of our academic commitments. There is enough cause to raise alarm and ensure that necessary protective measures are taken to stop further destruction.

I am extremely thankful to Sri R.K. Dwivedi and N.K. Nimje of the Pre-History Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, who accompanied me during the investigation. Thanks are also due to Sri. J.S. Dubey, Draftsman of the Branch who has prepared drawings of the artefacts for illustration. My heartiest thanks to Miss Deepika Kundaji who has remained a constant source of encouragement to me and helped me in shaping the manuscript to the present form.

Figures: Artefacts from Manikmunda Rock shelter :-

1. Blade core (bi-directional)
2 & 3. Blade core (uni-directional).
4. Flake core (utilised).
5 & 7. End flake (utilised).
6. Round scraper.
8. Blade (retouched).
9. Blade.
10. End flake (retouched).
11. Edge polished chisel (utilised).

Table : Artefact Types from Manikmunda Rock-shelter :-

Artefact Types	Chert	Chalcedony	Quartz	Quartzite	Total
A. *Modified Artefacts*					
Round scraper	1				1
End flake (truncated)	1				1
Retouched blade (broken)	1				1
Edge polished chisel (utilised)				1	1
B. *Simple Artefacts* (utilised)					
Flake core	2				2
End flake	1	1			2
Total	3	1			4
C. *Simple Artefacts*					
Flake core	10	7	11		28
Side flake	3	2	3	1	9
End flake	4	9	17	1	31

Blade core (uni-directional)	2	1			3
Blade core (bi-directional)	1				1
Blade core (broken)	1	1			2
Blade	1				1
Blade (broken)	1				1
Chips	1	1			2
Total	24	21	31	2	78
Grand Total	30	22	31	3	86

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4

UNIQUE STONE OBJECTS FROM SANKERJUNG

R.N. DASH

In the year 1971, a number of unique stone objects belonging to neolithic facies had been discovered by one Somnath Biswal of Sankerjung village near Angul in the Dhenkanal district of Orissa.[1] These objects found their way to the Orissa State Museum Bhubaneswar, where some of these peculiar types were displayed in the pre-history gallery. The other associated objects include chisel, awl and needle (one from each and all of copper), bone fragments, teeth, shoft-shell beads, a number of bangles of copper etc. Subsequently, the State Archaeology Department took up excavations at the site and recovered some stone objects. The enigmatic stone objects were examined by Dr. Paul Yule, the German Archaeologist who found these objects as acoustic stones and suggested their use as xylophones which have got world wide use since stone ages.[2] Other German scholars found musical notes according to different scales of resonance.[3] However, the aim of this paper is to discuss the suggestions made by the German scholars and to attempt a probable interpretation that seems to be lying behind the intention to fashion these objects.

Before going to express anything it is worth while to examine the unique stone objects at the first instance. There are twenty such stone objects out of which four have chipped and pecked body as well as edges with rectangular forms. They measure between 33 to 39 cms in length. Out of the sixteen rectangular bars left, four have shoulders. Again out of these four pieces one is broken. The other three are complete, ground and polished. The front face

is a plain surface, uni-bevelled at both the ends from two demarcating low rides. The butt end is shouldered just beyond the ridge. The back face is plain flat surface with battering or wearing marks, as called by the German scholar, at both the ends centrally located just inside the edge line towards the body. But in one shouldered type no battering mark is present at the end of the back face towards the butt. Of the other twelve rectangular slabs five have been broken. The complete objects measure between 34 to 40 cms in length. Only one slab is slightly convex on both the faces. Out of the rest, seven are slightly convex and four plain surfaced on the front face. The back faces are plain flat surfaces. There is evidence of chipping, pecking, grinding and polishing on these objects in varied degrees. But in spite of the same the objects are most probably sawed to plain edges at the sides, edges and faces. The German scholar Dr. Paul Yule is said to have examined the location of these finds at Sankerjung. He has arrived at the conclusion that the Sankerjung plateau is a necropolis with more than 50 burial mounds. The author went to shed some light on the Sankerjung plateau after his examination of the site and its periphery. The Sankerjung plateau stretches from the foot of the Jiminia hills up to the bank of the Brahmani river. The plateau is formed by the redeposited laterites washed out from the hill. The deposits are the result of water-logging and sedimentation processes probably due to tectonic movements which caused changes in the river's course. Further, changed situation in the drainage pattern caused water channels that discharged rain water to the Brahmani river. These channels are fed by rain gullies which erode the Sankerjung plateau. In course of years these rain gullies left eroded surfaces and plateau sway from the hill. The rain gully formations or natural erosion, as the German scholar calls it, exposed one burial or rather a mass secondary burial site. The others said to be burial mounds have seldom yielded any material of human bone or stone offered in a grave. As such, the term 'necropolis' needs to be revised in relation to that of 'open burial site' which in course of time was covered by redeposited loose soil washed out from the hills. Moreover, habitational sites have not come out from the locality to term the burial area as necropolis.

The succession of stone age relics from palaeolithic to, besides upper palaeolithic, chalcolithic is attested from the area and from other areas nearby. Thus there was probably a continuity of activity in the locality. The

inhabiting people of the locality at present, include caste Hindus, some broken tribes and a thin Kondh and Gond population. But their custom of burial has very little to offer in explaining the custom of the discovered mound.

In the special issue of the 'Times of India' featuring 'Science To-day' in the month of May-June, 1988 an article captioned "Acoustic Stone from India's Stone Age" appeared in the 'Event Horizon' section by Gisela Reinhardt. The brief article at the outset states—"unquestionably the oldest musical instrument found in India." They are fragments of a lithophone (stone chime), a pre-historic percussion instrument. This was discovered during the research project 'Northern India in the Second Millennium', founded by the German Research Association and supported by Thomas Stuart Maxwell, Professor at the Division for Oriental Art History of the University of Bonn. These instruments have been termed by the researchers as 'comparable to xylophone, a type of instrument mentioned in antiquity'. In order to dub these as 'stone chimes' known from China in the antique past, the associated bones have been identified to be of Mongoloid type. But the comparative anatomical examination of the teeth and a few long bone fragments does not indicate any Mongoloid trait. Moreover, 'the stone axes, adzes and hoes' noted in the article is very doubtful as per their typology. Rather-chisel, adze, and shouldered mallets occur in the hoard. No pearl as stated in the informative note occur in the finds. The soft shell beads in tiny combined frame occur among them. Thus the examination report of the German scholar seems to be based more on speculation than on fact.

The perplexing rectangular stone bars of various sizes are surely not "hook or axe" as described by the German scholars. Even these tools carry signs of wear "on the polished surface". But these wear-marks are not visible only at 'one end'. Closer examination of the polished but plain surfaces of these tools reveal that the 'wear marks' are visible in the form of dotted fractures at both the ends with varying degree of intensity. Moreover, these marks are situated medially towards the end at the front face, a little inside the edge line. These marks are believed by the German scholars to be the effects of tap marks given by the ancient musicians on the stone surface in course of playing the instruments. Here the author offers to differ with them for the reasons stated below.

(1) That the tap marks are not found on all the bar stones as all of them are not polished. Some of these stones are chipped and pecked types without ground surfaces. Some other bars are partially ground on the middle surfaces of the faces and thus do not carry such marks.

(2) That all the plain and ground rectangular bars are not of the same type. Some are wide and others are narrow. The narrower rectangular types are most probably sawed at the sides and edges. The wider ones have ends with chipping and pecking marks and they do not reveal sawing technique applied to them at these ends, whereas the sides reveal the application of such techniques. Even then they carry a plain reverse surface and a slightly convex surface on the obverse. The tapping strike marks are on the plain surfaces only and at certain times they are also found at both the ends of these faces.

(3) Some of the rectangular bars, having ground and plain surfaces, have shoulders. The German scholars believe these shouldered modifications to be 'small notches' intended to keep these stone objects in a hanging position vertically in an upright frame. But in our view this is unlikely. The intention of the stone workers to modify one end into a shoulder is to distinguish the working end at the first instance and then to facilitate holding of the tool for operational purposes. If this be the case then the question of keeping these objects in a vertical hanging position is completely ruled out. Even tapping marks at the shouldered end and the working end on the plain surface of a few shouldered types do not support their vertical or hanging operational position.

(4) The question of tapping marks on the plain surface do occur on both ends in a few cases. This cannot be explained otherwise besides their use as mallets to strike on the pointed ends of copper chisel and awls or needles associated with these finds. The strokes were light, regulated and most probably landed vertically as the wear marks caused by tapping indicate.

Thus, after reaching a different conclusion on the basis stated above one hesitates to accept these stone objects as lithophones. As such, it automatically waves out their arrangement as xylophones on a sound board. Even after conceiving an idea about the sound board and the arrangement of these stone bars on the same is prevented from the size, shape and finish of those objects. This has rather found the German scholars at a loss to interpret them and, for which, they have evolved the idea that they belong to more than

one set of instrument. Reinhardt adds that "the disconnected manner in which the stones were found offers no clue. They do not belong to one single instrument, but are fragments of several". But to stick to their views expressing them as xylophones they provide the explanation of ancient xylophone types world over and with a doubtful note saying, "The question of the sound-board of which many different forms are found in conjunction with xylophone type instruments also remain open".

The author setting aside the concluding views of the German scholars suggests the following alternative to explain the various types of these bar stone objects.

(a) That the stone bars are mallets used to tap on other fabricating tools to chip and/or peck other stone objects or used as pounders to break hard nuts or pound grain. This has caused the wearing tap marks on the body of these heavy objects.

(b) That they are in various stages of manufacture. The chipped and pecked types represent the earlier stage when a rough outline is created of their shapes. This is followed by grinding on the faces. After such rough surface is cleared, these objects are sawed from the sides and ends to rectangular shapes. The slightly convex surface is deliberately made to make grinding easier on the faces as well as to prevent the bars from breaking and to diffuse the jerk of the strokes from the point of impact. This is also intended to make unibevel edges or slanting ends on the obverse face. After sawing these objects in the manner stated above, it is measured almost equally from both the ends to prepare demarcating ridges on the slightly convex surface which is the obverse face of the instrument. It is done with the purpose to saw and prepare the shoulder modification and the working end of the tools.

These bar type stone objects are invariably seen to be broken from the middle portion into two. Further, there is no damage observed on the edges or ends marked on the broken pieces. This further strengthens our conviction that these objects were used as mallets and handled for landing accurate and delicate strokes on the fabricating tools or nuts or grains.

The question of date of the finds can be reached by bringing out a comparative study of the chalcolithic dates around Orissa. The dates of chalcolithic finds from Chirand in Bihar[4], Mahisadal in Bengal[5], Jami in

Andhra Pradesh[6] and Kayatha in Ujjain of Madhya Pradesh[7] are 2500-1600 B.C., 1485-975 B.C, 1275-975 B.C. and 2101-1300 B.C. respectively. Hence, the date for Sankerjung can be stated about 1300-1000 B.C. The German scholars have found the carbon date for Sankerjung which "points to the first millennium B.C." This is obvious. The opinion of these scholars that "the processing technique suggests the second millennium B.C."[8] needs to be examined or to be supported by other forthcoming datable finds, or examining fresh samples when available from any other nearby mound.

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5

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS AT DHAULI

MARTIN BRANDTNER

Kaliṅga (i.e. during the 3rd century B.C. roughly the territory of the coastal districts of present day Orissa) has a special significance for the history of Buddhism. During early medieval times many famous Buddhist centres were flourishing in the area, like the monasteries of Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Kuruma, but here we are concerned with an earlier period, that is the time when Buddhism started to spread over vast parts of India, in the 3rd century B.C. This sudden rise in the importance of Buddhism is closely connected with the patronage this religion received during the reign of Aśoka who was a confessed Buddhist himself. It is in the context of his conversion to Buddhism, which ultimately led to the increased popularity of this creed, that Kaliṅga acquired the above mentioned significance.

Whereas in older contributions to the subject it was generally believed that the conquest of Kaliṅga in 260 or 262 B.C. (I don't want to enter into the still controversial details of the chronology of Aśoka's reign) and the atrocities of that war brought about an immediate change in the attitude of Aśoka and with that his conversion to Buddhism, more recent studies tend to show a gradual turn of the emperor towards this religion.[1] However, this may be, in any case, it is generally accepted that the horrors of the Kaliṅga war played an important role for the change of his policy and propaganda, as he himself states in his famous 13th Edict.[2]

In Kaliṅga, of course, Aśoka had this edict not included in the two sets of his inscriptions that we find at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugada in Ganjam district, as he obviously did not want to remind the inhabitants of that

country conquered by him of the cruelties and the sufferings which he brought to Kaliṅga and which are quite frankly described in the 13th Rock Edict. Instead, he had two Separate Edicts inscribed at these two places.

The Aśokan edicts, famous for the humanistic attitude expressed in them, provide besides the propagation of "dhamma"—the first reliable information regarding the history of Orissa, being the earliest inscriptions not only in Orissa, but also in the whole of India. From the Separate Edicts we learn that they were addressed to the prince and the magistrates of Tosali (in the case of Dhauli edicts) and to the magistrate of Samāpā (in the case of the Jaugaḍa edicts). While Tosali was the provincial headquarter, Samāpā was a secondary administrative centre. We should bear in mind that Aśoka urges the concerned officials in his inscriptions to read out the text of his edicts to his subjects quite frequently. At Jaugaḍa extensive ruins of a fortified habitation in the centre of which the edicts are inscribed indicate the location of the township of Samāpā, moreover, excavations carried out at the site confirm that it was inhabited during early historical times.[3] Identification of Tosali is not so easy, but the ruins of the large fort at Sisupalgarh, only about 5 kms north-east of Dhauli, much bigger than the fort at Jaugaḍa but of exactly same layout and same age, make it probable that this was the provincial headquarter.[4] We will return to the question of the identification of Tosali later, as it was often suggested that [illegible] itself might have been that capital.[5]

However, from various sources it is obvious that Dhauli did not cease to be an important place after the downfall of the Mauryan Empire. It seems that the place continued to be significant especially for Buddhists, which is testified by an inscription in one of the caves at Dhauli. This inscription records the foundation of a Buddhist Vihāra there during the reign of Śāntikaradeva of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and is dated in 829 A.D.[6] Some temples and smaller shrines, most of them ruined, also belong to the Bhauma-Kara and later periods.[7] As late as the 16th century some of the caves in the hills at Dhauli seems to have been inhabited by Buddhist monks[8], and that the place has still not lost its attraction for the followers of the Buddhist creed can be seen from the structure which is dominating the site even today: the Śānti-stupa (Peace Pagoda), constructed between 1971 and 1972 by the Kaliṅga Nippon Buddha Saṅgha, founded by Japanese Indian devotees to

commemorate the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism after the bloody conquest of Kaliṅga.

The archaeological significance of Dhauli was first discovered by Markham Kittoe in 1838.[9] Since that time many archaeologists visited the site, but with only two exceptions paid attention only to the Aśokan edicts, the famous Aśokan elephant sculpture, the rock-cut caves and the temples. Only Debala Mitra conducted an excavation not far from the edicts in the early 1950s, the results of which were never published, and in 1984/85, Amarendranath and others from the Archaeological Survey of India reported early historical surface finds "a deposit of 3 m in cutting" and "traces of earthen fortification". They further claimed "that the early historical habitation extended in a radius of more than 1 km"[10]. From various sources[11] I could gather that the excavation carried out by Debala Mitra (which, as I was informed by members of the Archaeological Survey of India, stopped after only a few days due to some health problem among the workmen) brought to light some antiquities comparable to finds from Rajgir in Bihar, and that a rubble and mud-mortar wall which also finds its parallel at that site was unearthed at Dhauli. These scattered and somewhat meagre pieces of information caused me to conduct a number of exploration tours to the site in the course of my research on archaeological remains of the early historical period of Orissa.

The area where the archaeological remains are encountered is formed by three parallel hill ridges, running east-west, the southern most being the lowest and the northernmost the highest, and by the land in between and surrounding them.

On the northern side of the southern hill the Aśokan edicts are inscribed on a hewn rock. A little above the inscription the famous elephant sculpture, the forepart of an elephant cut out of the natural rock can be seen. Although this sculpture which can be regarded as the earliest specimen of Orissan sculpture, lacks the usual Mauryan polish, it is quite certain that it is contemporary with the inscription, as elephants in connection with Aśokan edicts (the elephant being a Buddhist symbol) occur elsewhere also.[12]

On the southern face of the same hill a short stretch of a wall can be seen exposed at the slope of the hill (fig. 1). From the appearance of that wall made of rubbles it might be guessed the one mentioned earlier which was

exposed during the excavation carried out by D. Mitra. Excavation at this place would certainly reveal more about its function and architectural particularities; at present its age is also difficult to determine, as there are no clearly associated finds.

On the crest of that hill towards it's north, remains of brick buildings (possibly *stupas*) could be seen a century ago, when Beglar visited the site.[13] Nothing is left now of these structures. I was, however, told by some local people that remains of ancient buildings on the crest of the hill with the Aśokan inscription were excavated by some Britishers "before independence".

A large number of rock-cut caves are encountered on all the three hills. It is interesting to note that these caves are all situated on the southern slopes of the hills. They are all rather small; the biggest measuring about 3m in height and width and upto 4m in depth, with the entrance opening covering the whole front, the smaller ones only about 50cm in height and depth and 2m in width. The interior is invariably plain. Most of these caves are found on the middle ridge. The caves at Udayagiri-Khandagiri were certainly meant for ascetics. Dating of these monuments is, of course, difficult as there are no finds closely associated with the caves and as they do not display architectural or sculptural features which are clear sources regarding their dates. However, it is not true that none of the caves shows any further decoration, as claimed in the latest publication in which they are mentioned.[14] Above the front opening of one of the caves on the middle hill a kind of roughly executed architrave is found, above which a horizontal groove extending over the whole width of the opening can be seen (fig.2). This rather crude architectural feature has, as far as I know, not yet been noted by archaeologists. The already mentioned inscription in one of the caves on the northern hill does not prove that the caves have all been excavated in medieval times—one has only to think of the famous caves of Udayagiri-Khandagiri, only about 10 kms north-west of Dhauli, where we also come across medieval inscriptions inspite of the fact that the caves were excavated between the first century B.C. and the first/second century A.D.[15] Incidentally, one of the medieval inscriptions in these caves was engraved by the same author as the one at Dhauli.[16] As the place gained importance as the Buddhist site during the time of Aśoka it is quite probable that the caves were

also excavated during this time, when cave-architecture reached its zenith in India. Due to the brittleness of the rocks at Dhauli they did not receive the sophisticated artistic treatment of other caves of that age, but also the elephant sculpture, which is certainly of Mauryan date lacks the artistic perfection and finish which we encounter in other contemporary specimens. It is unlikely that it will ever be possible to reach at a more definite conclusion regarding the age of these monuments.

In front of some of the caves and also at other places, especially on the crests of the southern and the middle hills, a large number of square or circular holes, usually about 20 cm in diameter, and of approximately the same depth, can be seen. Except of those holes in front of some of the caves, where they are in some cases arranged in a row running parallel to the cave openings, so that they might have been used to insert poles to support a temporary roof, there is no recognisable relation between them. I was told by some local people that they were used by Aśoka to pitch his tents during the Kaliṅga war. In the case of holes obviously connected with caves there might be a grain of truth in that tradition, even if it was not Aśoka but some Buddhist ascetics who used them for the same purpose as described above. But for the majority of the holes this explanation is not valid. It was suggested[16] that they might have been used as mortars by "medical devotees", which I doubt because of the large number of these holes and because I consider it as rather awkward to grind herbs or any substances of which only small quantities are needed in these coarse cavities which cannot be moved and which, moreover, also do not show any traces of grinding.

On the crest of the middle hill, towards the southern slope I discovered a drain in the form of a long groove excavated to protect one of the biggest caves (that with the rudimentary architectural features mentioned above) from the rain water.

It is not necessary to describe the temples and minor shrines existing at the site, as there are already a number of published descriptions.[17] They all are of medieval date (Bhauma-Kara and later); the formerly most important, the Dhavaleśvara temple, originally built in the Bhauma-Kara period, does not exist any more now, as a new temple was constructed at its site in 1972.

A completely different kind of source for the history and especially for the chronology of the site consists of pottery. During my exploration I found

out that the gardens and fields between the eastern spur of the northern hill and the southern hill (with the edicts), (fig.3) which extends further to the east than the other two hills, are covered with pottery. This roughly semi-circular area with a radius of about 250 cm is bordered in the west by the slopes of the middle hill, in the east by the road leading towards the Puri-Bhubaneswar highway. It is not understandable where A. Nath (see above) could find habitational remains extending far more than a kilometer in radius, because the topographical situation simply does not allow such an extension. I was also not able to detect his "eastern fortification", which, in my opinion, must be a misinterpretation of a canal embankment parallel to the road which constitute the eastern border of the semicircular area described above and does not show any traces of being built in early historical times. Nevertheless, there are impressive quantities of pottery to be found at the site which prove that habitation continued there for a long period. Approximately in the middle of the described area there is a recently excavated tank on the slopes of which pottery deposits of three to four metre thickness are visible (fig. 4). This must be the deposit referred to by A. Nath. As neither catalogueing and documentation of the surface finds nor their comparison with finds from other sites is completed yet, I can only give a preliminary idea about some of the finds and their probable dates.

Among the earliest finds identified so far are some sherds of the so called Black-and-Red Ware (fig. 5). This kind of pottery was also discovered during the excavations at Sisupalgarh and Jaugada which have already been mentioned. In Sisupalgarh comparable sherds occured in Period II A and II B, dated by the excavator to c.200 B.C. to 200 A.D.[18] As our knowledge about distribution and possible chronological position of this pottery is more vast today than at the time of the Sisupalgarh excavation in 1948, there are, however, strong reasons to believe that the particular variety of Black-and-Red Ware encountered at Dhauli might be of pre-Mauryan date, as similar pottery was, for example, discovered at Sonepur in Bihar and is reliably dated there to the time between 650 B.C. and 200 B.C.[19] Technologically, the Black-and-Red Ware of the variety found at Dhauli is a wheel-turned pottery, slipped and polished. As it was submitted to the technique of "inverted firing" (that is, the pots were placed upside down in the kiln) its interior and the upper part of the exterior became black due to reducing conditions while the lower part of the exterior became red due to oxidization. Another ware found

at Dhauli is of a similar technological make-up, but is fully oxidized (i.e., bright red). It includes the same typological range as the Black-and-Red Ware (for example, the shallow bowl) (fig. 6) but many types of vessels which are not available as Black-and-Red Ware occur also (for example, vases, dishes, basins etc.). This ware, which is typical for Sisupalgarh, occurs there contemporarily with the Black-and-Red Ware, but is, deteriorating in quality after what was dated by the excavator to 100 A.D.[20] In the light of the above suggestions regarding the date of the Black-and-Red Ware this date can also be pushed back, especially as some of the types of vessels belonged to this period (for example, the so-called "lids") (fig. 7) make their appearance much earlier at other sites.[21] It is significant that at Dhauli the quantity of the well-fired, well-slipped and well-polished variety of this ware is much bigger than that of the deteriorated variety.

As it is the same at Sisupalgarh, decorated sherds are not very common. The patterns follow those encountered at Sisupalgarh: mostly impressions and shallow incisions. Two sherds which deserve special mention do not find their parallels at Sisupalgarh: they show a stamped pattern not uncommon at some North Indian sites of the Kuṣāna period, but also found at South Indian Early Historical sites.[22] They can be approximately dated to second or third century A.D.

Fragments of two terracotta ear ornaments, a category of finds profusely seen among the Sisupalgarh material,[23] are not easy to date as they belong to a rather plain variety only decorated with concentric grooves (fig.8). Not much more can be said than that they most probably belong to the Early Historical Period.

Besides the Black-and-Red and red slipped wares, which can be termed as "high quality pottery", there is also a wide variety of coarser wares, varying in colour between dull red, buff and different shades of gray. Whereas among the red and buff varieties, which lack any surface treatment, some of the types known from Sisupalgarh (the above mentioned "lid", some basins, etc.) are present, the gray wares mostly are of shapes not found there. Our knowledge of medieval pottery of the region is very limited as there is not a single site with medieval pottery found in Orissa. Still, from whatever little information is available it can be concluded that there are a number of medieval sherds at least among the gray wares. Some general characteristics,

like horizontally outturned rims and sharp carination, are typical from the early historical period onwards.[24] From this preliminary interpretation of some finds as well as from the thickness of the habitational deposits it is quite clear that habitation must have continued here for at least one millenium. Surface finds, of course, are not too reliable. It is therefore necessary to conduct an excavation at this important site to get a clearer picture of the chronology and the nature of the habitation. Should that excavation not be carried out within the very near future, it is doubtful whether there will be any possibility of doing it later. The land on which the archaeological remains are concentrated (that is the above described semi-circular area) is in private possession of the Kaliṅga Nippon Buddha Saṅgha which is presently laying out a garden at the site. They have agreed to an excavation before the work is finished, but excavating after completion of their garden will most probably not be permitted. It is interesting to note that inspite of the thick deposits of pottery no structural remains are visible in the slopes of the tank. There are also only very few brickbats and remains of other building materials (like dressed laterite blocks) to be found on the surface, which is rather unusual for a site dating to the time span outlined above.

This is one of the reasons which make it not too probable that Dhauli was Aśoka's provincial headquarter Tosali. If a secondary centre like Jaugada (Aśoka's Samāpā) had an impressive fortification the headquarter surely can be also expected to have one. But there are no traces of a large fortification at Dhauli. Moreover, the topographical situation as described above would not permit a large scale settlement.

It is, on the other hand, clear, that the site was of great importance for the Buddhists, and that it witnessed a peak of habitational activity during the time of Aśoka or at least around that time, as can be concluded from the fact that the earlier varieties of early historical pottery occur in larger quantities than the later ones. It seems that the place was inhabited already before the Mauryan conquest of Orissa; most probably, there was only a minor settlement there at that time. After the engraving of the edicts the place gained more importance for a certain time, which was certainly connected with Aśoka's order to read out the edicts frequently to the public. After the downfall of Magadhan hegemony over Orissa (at present—with the limited sources available—it is difficult to determine at which time exactly) the

importance of Dhauli decreased again, but habitation obviously continued until medieval times. Whether only ascetics continued to live there, or whether there still was a secular settlement can only be ascertained through excavation. At least from the Buddhist point of view the place never lost its importance entirely.

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2. Quoted after the translation given by R. Thapar, op. cit. (see note.1), p. 255: "When he had been consecrated eight years the Beloved of the Gods, the King *Piyadasi*, conquered Kaliṅga. A hundred and fifty thousand people were deported, a hundred thousand were killed and many times that number perished. Afterwards, now that Kaliṅga was annexed, the Beloved of the Gods very earnestly practised *Dhamma*, desired *Dhamma*, and taught *Dhamma*".
3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956/57, pp. 30-31.
4. A report on the excavation there was published by B.B. Lal, *Sisupalgarh 1948: An Early Historical Fort in Eastern India, in Ancient India*, No. 5, 1949, pp. 62-105.
5. See for example, K.N. Mahapatra, "Tosali A Famous Buddhist Centre of Orissa" in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Special Volume, 1982, Section II, pp. 5-65.
6. Among others, K.C. Panigrahi published this inscription in his *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśis of Orissa*, reissued with a new introduction, Bhubaneswar, 1981, p. 60. The date of the inscription is calculated on the basis of an assumed beginning of the Bhauma era in A.D. 736 which in spite of an old controversy about it, seems to be widely accepted today (Cf. Panigrahi, op.cit. - see also U. Subuddhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 40-61.
7. See R.P.Mahapatra, *Archaeology in Orissa* (Sites and Monuments), Vol. I, Delhi, 1986, pp. 100-102. (with quotations from older sources): K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Second edition, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 154-155, 166-167, 174; N. Senapati/D.C. Kuanr (eds), *Orissa State Gazetteers* : Puri, Bhubaneswar, 1977, p. 667 (also with quotations from older sources).
8. See N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttack, 1958, p. 167.
9. A reprint of his account on his explorations in Orissa can be found in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1953, Appendix, pp. 16-24 (the original was published in the Journal of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 679-685 and 1060-1063).
10. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1984/85, p. 60.
11. Some bits of information are contained in Panigrahi, op. cit., (note 6), pp. 2 and 194; id., *History of Orissa* (Hindu Period), Cuttack, 1981, pp. 347-348; T.N.

Ramachandran, *Sisupalgarh*, in Journal of the *Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIX, 1948-49, p. 143. Possibly there is more information available in K.N. Mahapatra, *Dhauli (Tosali) ra Itihāsa*, (Oriya), Bhubaneswar, 1975, which I could not utilise so far because it is written in Oriya. The same scholar also conducted an excavation at Dhauli during which he "exposed ruins of an old temple and a well, ascribable to *circa* 7th century A.D." (*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963/64, p. 17). Neither is the exact place of that excavation reported nor are there any finds mentioned or traceable today in the State Museum, to which they should have gone. In view of the results of my explorations at Dhauli it is strange that D. Mitra remarks that "...excavation in the immediate vicinity of the inscription has failed to yield anything substantial,..." (D.Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1978 (fourth edition), p. 6).

12. For example at Kalsi; a description and comparison of this elephant (a rock engraving near a set of Aśokan edicts on a large boulder) with the Dhauli sculpture—pointing at great similarities of the two - is given in S.P. Gupta, *The Roots of Indian Art*, Delhi, 1980, pp. 310-311.

13. J.D. Beglar, *Report of Tours in the South-Eastern Province in 1874-75 and 1875-76*, Calcutta, 1882 (=*Archaeological Survey of India*, Reports, ed. A Cunningham, Vol. XIII) p. 96.

14. Mahapatra, op. cit., (note 6), p. 100.

15. A comparative account of all the caves there, discussion of their chronology, artistical features, etc., where also all inscriptions including the medieval ones are re-edited is given by R.P. Mahapatra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, Delhi, 1989.

16. See Panigrahi, op. cit., (note 5), pp. 58-61, for texts, translations and interpretation of these two inscriptions.

17. That view was already proposed by Kittoe (Mahapatra, op. cit., (note 6), p. 100, quotes from a part of his report which is unfortunately not reprinted in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, see note 8.

18. The most recent one is Mahapatra, op. cit., (note 6), pp. 100-102; other descriptions are also mentioned in note 6.

19. Lal, op. cit., (note 4), pp. 84-86, gives an account of the Black-and-Red Ware discovered at Sisupalgarh. Their chronology is discussed on pp. 71-72.

20. The pottery in question makes its appearance at the same time as the Northern Black Polished Ware at Sonpur, and partly the shapes of the Black-and-Red Ware from this period (Period II) are also the same as the Northern Polished Ware shapes, see figures 24 and 27 in B.P. Sinha/B.S. Verma, *Sonpur Excavations* (1959-1962), Patna, 1977. The chronology is discussed on pp. 12-12. It may be pointed out that also some of the shapes occuring in red ware at Dhauli find their parallels among the pottery of the same period at Sonpur (see, for example, figure 25 of the above mentioned publication).

21. This phenomenon of deterioration in quality is accompanied by a reduction of the variety of vessel shapes and decorative elements; see Lal, op. cit., (note 4), pp. 68-70, 78-80.

22. See again the Sonpur excavation (note 20), figure 31, no. 9, again from Period II.

23. See, for example, sherds from Rupar (Haryana) in Y.D. Sharma, *Exploration of Historical Sites, in Ancient India*, No. 9, 1953, fig. 7; see also N.C. Ghosh, *Excavations at Satanikota*, 1977-80, New Delhi, 1986 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 82), fig 42, with examples dating from first century B.C. to third century A.D. (Andhra Pradesh).

24. See Lal, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 89-91.

25. See, for example, the pottery from Kudavelli (Andhra Pradesh), (fourth century A.D. onwards), in: *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1978/79, fig. 4; See also N.C. Ghosh, op. cit. (note 23), fig. 43 (14th/15th century A.D.).

List of Illustrations:

Fig. 1: Rubble wall on the southern slope of the southern hill.

Fig. 2: Cave with crude architectural features on the middle hill.

Fig. 3: View of the field yielding most of the archaeological remains (in the background on the right the shed with the Aśokan Edicts)

Fig. 4: Slope of the tank showing pottery deposits.

Fig. 5: Sherds of red slipped and Black-and-Red Ware (the two upper rows red slipped, the lowest sherd Black-and-Red Ware).

Fig. 6: Shallow bowl of red slipped ware.

Fig. 7: Typical "lid" as also discovered at Sisupalgarh (crude red ware).

Fig. 8: Ear ornament (terracotta).

6

A MATHURA EPIGRAPH AND THE DATE OF KHĀRAVELA

B.N. MUKHERJEE

An interesting inscription on a slab of stone was found in 1988 in a field of cultivation in the neighbourhood of a village called Maghera, situated about 73 kms away from Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. It is now included in the collection of the Government Museum at Mathura.[1] (fig. 1).

The fashioned slab of red sand stone bearing the inscription measures 102 cms in length, 37 cms in height and 13.5 cms in depth. The inscription consists of three lines engraved in Brahmi characters. The forms of the letters *ya, sa, ca, ja* and *ma* indicate, when considered together, a date in or about the second half of the 1st century A.D.[2] The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit or rather the so-called "mixed dialect".

The epigraph can be read and translated as follows :—

L.1 — Yavanarājyasya soḍaśottare varsa śate 100 [+]
10 [+] 6 hema[n]ta māsa(sa) divasa 30 et(ā)ye purvāye

L.2— brāhmaṇasya Maitreya sagotrasya Ghoṣadatta putrasya
s[ā]rthavāhasya Vīrabalasya māturāhi Thaṇīya udapāṇā

L.3 — puṣkoriṇi sahaputreṇa Vīrabalena vadhūye Bhagureye
pautrehi ca Śuradattena Ṛsabhadevena Vi[ra] detena
ca [I*] Puṇyaṁ [bha]vatu [I*]

Translation

In the year hundred exceeded by sixteen 116 of the Yavana kingdom—[in] the Hemanta month 4, [on] the day 30—on this date a well

and a pond (were caused to be excavated) by Thaṇī, the mother of the itinerant trader Vīrabala, the brāhmaṇa with the Maitreya *gotra* (family name) [and] the son of Ghoṣadatta, together with the son Vīrabala, daughter-in-law Bhaguri and grandsons Suradatta, Ṛṣabhadeva and Vīradatta. May there be religious merit.

It is clear from the above that the epigraph perpetuates a meritorious work by Thaṇī (Sthanī ?). The work was done in the year 116 of the Yavana kingdom, or in other words, in the year 116 of an era current in the Yavana kingdom.

It should be noted here that there is no evidence of Greek rule at Mathura for some time. However, it is not necessary to interpret the *Yavana* occuring in the inscription as meaning "Greek". Even during the period of Aśoka (to be placed in the second and third quarters of the 3rd century B.C.) the term *Yona* (*Yavana*) denoted not only a person of Greek origin, but also a non-Greek inhabitant of the Yona province (Arachosia or a part of south-eastern Afghanistan including Kandahar) of his empire.[3] In about the 1st century A.D., to which period our inscription is to be assigned palaeographically, the term could have denoted any Greek or a Hellenist non-Greek.[4] A stone inscription of about the late 1st or early 2nd century, found in the locality of Mathura itself, records the setting up of a stone slab (*paṭa-paṭṭa*) in a monastery by a Yavana called Nandi [Siddham-Yavanena Naṁdinā.....vihāre śilapaṭaḥ" (prati)][5] (fig. 2). This person must have been an Indianised Greek or a Hellenist non-Greek foreigner or an Indian lover of Hellenic culture.

So the members of any ruling dynasty in Mathura, devoted to Hellenic culture, would have appeared in about the 1st or 2nd century A.D. as Yavana. This designation could have very well applied to the Śaka-Pahlava or Scytho-Parthian rulers of Mathura in the 1st century A.D.[6] Unlike the Kuṣāṇas, the Scytho-Parthians were well-known as phil-Hellenic.[7]

It is well established that Mahākṣātrapa Rājuvula conquered the Mathura area on behalf of the Scytho-Parthian family of Azes I.[8] The conquest took place perhaps during the reign of Azilises, the co-ruler and successor of Azes I and some time earlier than the year 72, the known date of the rule of Rājuvula's son Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.[9] If this date is attributed to the era of 58 B.C.[10], then Śoḍāsa was already a Mahākṣatrapa in c.A.D. 14. Hence the

Scytho-Parthian rule in the Mathura area commenced either towards the end of the 1st century B.C. or in the beginning of the 1st century A.D. It was captured from a local ruling family.[11] The Śaka-Pahlava rule (first of the group of Rājuvula and then of another group of rulers affiliated probably to the family of the Parthian or Scytho-Parthian king Gondophres I)[12] was terminated with the advent of the Kuṣāṇas in the area concerned during the reign of V'ima Kadphises.[13] The date of this event should be placed some time before A.D. 78, if Kaniṣka I, the successor of V'ima, is considered to have begun to reign in that year.[14]

The inscription under review should be placed before the advent of the Kuṣāṇa rule, since the occurrence of the expression *Yavana-rājyasya* (of the Yavana kingdom) immediately before the date proves the existence of a Yavana kingdom in the Mathurā area at the time of the issuance of the record. Hence the date "the year 116 of the Yavana kingdom", must be attributed to a period in the 1st century A.D. when the rule of the *Yavanas* (meaning the Śaka-Pahlavas in this context) was still effective in Mathura. Our record refers to a system of counting years used in the "Yavana kingdom" and does not simply call the era as the "Yavana era". The only reckoning to have been used in the "Yavana", i.e., Śaka-Pahlava kingdom with its hundred sixteenth year falling in the 1st century A.D. is the Azes era. It commenced in about the middle of the 1st century B.C. and during the reign of the Scytho-Parthian king Azes I.[16] The inscription of Itravarman, referring explicitly to the year 63 of the era of Aja(=Azes), is the earliest known Indian epigraph mentioning an era by name.[17]

The year 116 of our record is therefore to be attributed to the Azes era. Since the latter began sometime in about the middle of the 1st century B.C., the year 116 may be placed in the third quarter of the 1st century A.D. There are some reasons for identifying the Azes era with the reckoning of 58 B.C.[18] which came to be known as Vikrama era centuries after its commencement.[19] In that case the year 116 corresponded to c.A.D. 58-59.

Thus in the Mathura region a ruler of Scytho-Parthian origin could be called Yavana from the late 1st century B.C. to at least up to c.A.D. 58-59. He need not have been Greek ethnically.

The Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela records that in the eighth year of his reign, when after assaulting Gorathagiri he squeezed (i.e., tormented)

Rājagṛha (both now in south Bihar), a Yavanarāja fled to Mathurā even leaving his army.[20] The name of the Yavana king as given in this record cannot be read with confidence. But it is clear that Mathura was his stronghold where he retreated out of fear of Khāravela. As noted above, no ruling family in Mathura could be termed as Yavana before the closing years of the 1st century B.C. when the Śaka-Pahlava group of Rājuvula conquered that area. Hence, the Yavana (i.e., Śaka-Pahlava) adversary of Khāravela could not have ruled in Mathura before the closing years of the 1st century B.C. This suggests that his contemporary ruler of Kaliṅga, called Khāravela, reigned not earlier than the last quarter of the 1st century B.C.

The Mathura epigraph of the year 116 is thus an important document. It throws light on the history of Mathura of the Śaka-Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa periods. It also has a bearing on the evolution of the meaning of the term *Yavana*, a name which originally denoted the "Ionian Greeks" and generally indicated "Greeks" in many early sources. Finally, it gives an indication about the date of Khāravela.

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2. A.H Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, plts. VIIA and VIIIB, col. i.
3. B.N. Mukherjee, *Studies in Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 52.
4. B.N. Mukherjee, *Mathura and Its Society—The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 21 and 148. Several inscriptions found at Karle (in Maharashtra) and datable to the 1st-2nd century A.D., refer to gifts of pillars by Yavana donors from Dhenukaṭaka. Their names (*Dhamma*, i.e., *Dharman*, *Sihadhaya*, i.e. *Siṁhadhvaja*, *Yasavadhana*, i.e. *Yaśavardhana*, *Cūlayakha*, i.e. *Kṣudrayakṣa*, *Dhammadhaya*, i.e. *Dharmadhvaja*, etc.) are certainly Indian (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, 1955, pp. 63-66). A record at Junnar furnishes the name of a Yavana donor as Candra (J. Burgess and B. Indraji, *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, reprint, Delhi, 1976, p. 43). It is difficult to believe that all of them were Greeks. At least some, if not all, of these donors were Hellenist Indians. An interesting example is the donation of a pillar in the *caitya* at Karle by a physician called Miliṁda from Dhenukaṭaka, together with his wife Jayamita, his two sons Bhayabhuti and Nābubhuti and (his daughter) Vasumitā (*Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, 1955, p. 65). The name of the physician (*Miliṁda = Menander*) is certainly of Greek origin, while the names of his close relatives are Indian. So he was either an Hellenist Indian or an Indianised Greek married to an Indian lady. It

should also be noted that two epigraphs of c. 1st or 2nd century A.D. refer to Yavana Cita and one inscription speaks of Yavana Irila as "of the Gatas" (*Gatānaṁ*) (*ibid*, p. 66 ; J. Burgess and B. Indraji, *op.cit.*, pp. 43 and 55). If the Gatas have been correctly identified with the Goth people (S. Konow's hypothesis quoted in W.W. Tarn, *Greek in Bactria and India*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1938, p. 257n), then the term *Yavana* is to be considered as have been applied in the 1st-2nd century A.D. also to non-Greek foreigners in India. The Yavana traders mentioned in the Tamil Sangam literary pieces (like *Aham*, 149), datable to the early centuries of the Christian era, could have included Greek, Roman and other merchants from the Roman empire with which India had brisk trade in this period (see also K.A.N. Sastri, (Editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1957, p. 504, 516 and 674). Thus in about the 1st or 2nd century A.D. the term *Yavana* occuring in an Indian source may denote a Greek or Hellenist non-Greek foreigner or a Hellenist Indian.

5. Our reading of the inscription is being published also in another journal.
6. *MSSP*, pp. 22f.
7. The Scytho-Parthians continued the Greek language for their coin legends, but the Kuṣāṇas replaced it (and also Prakrit) by the Bactrian language (though it was written in Greek characters). The Scytho-Partian retained several Greek administrative and honorific titles (*meridarkhes, strategos, anangkaios, adelphos*, etc.). The cultivation of Greek learning and literary activities were encouraged or at least sympathised with by the Imperial Parthian monarchs. Some of them even enjoyed attending Greek plays (For sources of information see, B.N. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire*, Calcutta, 1988, p. 423 and pp. 529-530, n. 478).
8. *MSSP*, pp. 1f.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid*, pp. 3 and 216.
11. *Ibid*, p. 11 and p. 19, n. 48.
12. *Ibid*, pp. 22f.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 41f.
14. *Ibid*, p. 46.
15. If the intention of the author of the record was to call the reckoning concerned as *Yavana* the suitable expression would have been *Yavana-samvatsare* (or *Yavanānaṁ soḍaśottare varṣaśate).*
16. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1985, pp. 8f.
17. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1977-78, Vol. XI, pp. 102-103.
18. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1985, pp. 8-10.
19. *Ibid*, p. 8. No record before the 8th century A.D. associates the era of 58 B.C. with the epithet *Vikrama*.
20. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, 1st edition, Calcutta, 1942, p. 208 and plt.

7

A SEAL OF BRAHMĀṆA FROM ORISSA

CHANDRASHEKHAR GUPTA

A few years ago on the occasion of the annual conference of the Numismatic Society of India I had an opportunity to go to Sambalpur and visit the Museum of the Sambalpur University. Though the Museum is very small, it is a representative of the regional archaeological and anthropological heritage. Amongst the objects displayed in the coins and seals section there I noticed a very interesting seal of red stone (it may well be of hematite or terracotta made by employing fine-grained good quality of earth and firing it well) bearing the legend in Box-headed Brāhmī and some devices. The University authorities and the Curator of the Museum allowed me to take impression of the seal on plasticene and also permitted me to publish the same. I am very much grateful to them for this gesture.

The seal is having a circular flat base, 4.2 cms in diameter bearing the devices and the legend inscribed in negative. At the back it is gradually tapering and having a squarish handle in the centre for holding. The height is about 3 cms. There is no perforation in the handle to string it as is normally seen. (Plate III, Fig. 2).

The flat face of the seal shows within a linear circular border two equal compartments made by a horizontal diameter line. This line is having two curved devices attached to its upper side near its end portions. On the upper compartment the devices are engraved. They are a high necked oblong pot with a spout on the left, a curved stick and a beaded rosary. In the lower compartment a legend consisting of four letters in the Box-headed variety of Brāhmī characters, is incised. The inscription reads, *'Brahmāṇasya'* meaning [the seal is] of Brahmāṇa.

The first figure on the seal represents the famous pot, met frequently in the archaeological excavations, popularly known as 'sprinkler'. (It is believed to be a pot of foreign origin brought to India due to Roman contact).[1] Normally it is found in the Red Polished Ware but some sprinklers in Black Polished Ware and Tan Ware have been reported recently from Mandhal, in Nagpur district. There is a wide range of shapes of this pot at this site which suggest that they were manufactured locally copying the prototypes in the Red Polished Ware.[2] This pot has a long constricted neck with a narrow air-hole running vertically along the margin or in the centre and the neck and spout are luted to the body. The neck is concave in shape normally with a nipple at the top. The spout is luted to the shoulder of the pot and has a curved shape (like the letter 'S') with a narrow mouth and bigger base. The body of the sprinkler is generally ovoid in shape and its walls are thin.[3] A unique specimen in bronze has been found at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur in Maharashtra).[4] This pot has been represented in art also. There are several representations of the God Śiva on coins where he is shown holding this pot as one of his attributes.[5] There are several sculptures representing the gods carrying this pot.[6] It is clear that in all these representations it is intended for a *Kamaṇḍalu.* Interestingly, it is mentioned by the name '*Kuṇḍi*' by the Chinese traveller I-tsing who came to India in the 7th century A.D.[7] and described as *tumbī* (a variety of the vegetable plant gourd, *Lagenaria sineraria (Mol) Standi*, which is used for preparing vessels. It is therefore called 'bottle gourd' also) as an attribute of Śiva in the Mahābhārata.[8] This so called sprinkler (it was named so probably due to its resemblance with the metal rose-water sprinklers, which are still used in India during social ceremonies) was included in 'Buddhist Pottery' by K.N. Puri[9] and called 'the life breathing vessel of the Chinese pilgrims' by Marshall in the context of potteries from Rairh and Bhita respectively.[10] The *Kuṇḍi* referred by I-tsing is still represented in South India and Sri-Lanka in a spouted vessel called *Kindi*, and *Kendiya* respectively.[11] In North India also this tradition can be observed in the form of *Karvā.* In some parts of the country it is called *Jhārī.* It appears that all these vessels have been evolved out of *bhṛṅgāra* which must have developed from *Kuṇḍi.*

The representation on the seal very well tallies with actual specimens. Several sites of the adjacent Chhatisagarh region (ancient Dakṣiṇa Kosala,

which included western part of Orissa also), e.g., Sirpur,[12] Mallar,[13] etc. have yielded Red Polished Ware (including the sprinkler pot) but no site in Orissa is known to the present author to have given evidence of this type of Ware. Though this is a negative evidence but together with some other grounds, viz., the palaeography and political conditions during that period suggest that this seal must have come from the adjacent area of Western Orissa, i.e., Chhattisagarh (either in modern times or in ancient period when the political boundaries were much bigger comprising Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg, Rajnandgaon, Raigarh and Sarguja districts of Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur, Koraput districts of Orissa—under South Kosala). The findspot of the seal is not recorded in the Museum inventories.

The second device is a crooked linear design representing somewhat the shape of the question mark '?'. At the bottom it is having a knob-like shape. It is a *daṇḍa* (staff to be held by the *brahmacārins* and *tapasvins* (ascetics) found depicted in some early sculptures.[14] They were made of different wood according to the *varṇas* (according to some *Gṛhyasūtras*, e.g., *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* and *Brāhmaṇas*, viz., *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, no such distinction was observed).[15]

The third device is clearly a rosary made of ten (nine normal and one *Sumeru* bead, which is slightly bigger in size and placed on the top right corner) beads. As it is well-known a rosary normally consists of 108 beads (the number differs according to the sects and rituals). Thus, as also represented in sculptures, here the symbolic representation of it is depicted.

All these three devices are associated with ascetic aspect. But to associate it with the owner of the seal will not be appropriate. It must be representative of the religious belief followed by him. As stated earlier some early sculptures have been shown holding these attributes. The *kuṇḍi* type of water-pot (*Kamaṇḍalu*) is shown in a number of icons of Śiva, but the *daṇḍa* of curved type is very rare. The rosary (*akṣamālā* or *Rudrākṣamālā*) is also a common attribute of Śiva. The *daṇḍa*, it appears, has either taken the form of *gadā* (which is seen associated with him in early period only, or in the form of *laguḍa* it was restricted to a form of Śiva called Lakulīśa. The curved *daṇḍa, kuṇḍi*-type *Kamaṇḍalu* and beaded rosary all are seen depicted in the Śaiva sculptures of Vākāṭaka period found in Vidarbha. The *Aṣṭamūrti*[16] and *Rudra-Śiva*[17] icons of Śiva and Pārvati[18] icon from Mandhal in Nagpur

district, show *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* held together in their left hands. Unfortunately, the right hands of all the three sculptures are broken, but in all probabilities it was shown in *Varada mudrā* holding a rosary. A sculpture of Pārvatī from Patur in Akola district, also belonging to the same period, is iconographically similar to Pārvatī from Mandhal. Fortunately, it is intact (except for a minor damage which in no way affects the iconography) and show her right hand in *Abhaya mudrā* holding the rosary and left gripping the curved *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu.*[19] From the extinct traces of the broken portion of the right hand of the *Pārvatī* from Mandhal it appears that she was holding the rosary in the *Varada mudrā*. With this minor difference (which was probably due to the regional or periodical variation as Mandhal in Nagpur district is situated in the eastern Vidarbha whereas Patur in Akola district is in the western part of Vidarbha.[20] Moreover, though both are the products of the Vākāṭaka period, stylistically they represent the early and late phases respectively) both the sculptures represent the ascetic aspect of Pārvatī performing the penance for Śiva. In one of the four hands of a late Vākāṭaka image of *Dakṣināmūrti* Śiva found at Mansar in Nagpur district,[21] a ten-beaded rosary is shown.

The name of the owner of this seal, Brahmāṇa, is also significant from this point of view. Normally, it may be taken as a synonym of *Brahman* but it also represents Śiva and Brahmāṇī is also an epithet of Durgā (which was Indian adoption of the Goddess Manā and which subsequently merged in the image of Pārvatī). This left no doubt that Brahmāṇa was a Śaivite and his faith has been represented in symbolic form on his seal.[22]

The palaeography of the legend suggests a period ranging between 4th and 8th century A.D. Right from the Vākāṭakas to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin reigns, this script with minor variations was popular in the eastern Deccan region. The solid boxes seen on the letters *hma* and *sya* and cursive nature of the letters (which are not seen in the Box-headed Brāhmī employed in the copper plate inscriptions of the Śarabhapuriyas or Pāṇḍuvaṁśins),[23] this seal can be safely attached to the 5th century A.D.

Thus, it is quite evident from the foregoing account that the seal now deposited in the Archaeological museum of the Sambalpur University has an important bearing on the cultural relationship between Orissa (and also Chhatisagarh region of Madhya Pradesh)[24] and Vidarbha during c. 5th

century A.D. (i.e., during Vākāṭaka period). It is a solitary evidence so far met, to shed light on this aspect as we have practically no archaeological material giving us enough knowledge regarding their relationship.[25] An intensive exploration and documentation of the antiquities and monuments of these areas must be planned before it is too late.[26]

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5. John Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art of the Kuṣāṇas*, California, 1967, pp. 13, 92, 93, 107 etc., Pl. I. 18, II. 25, VIII. 156.
6. N.P. Joshi, *Bhāratīya Mūrtiśāstra, Nagpur*, 1979, Figs. 22, 8, 23.11, 12 ; Pl. 47, 93, *Prachina Bharatīya Mūrtivijñāna*, Patna, 1977, pp. 49, 77, 201 ; Fig. Nos. 16, 20, 51, Line-drawing Nos. 36, 81, 109 ; V.S. Agrawal, *Mathura Kalā*, Ahmedabad, 1964, p. 26 ; inscribed icon of Bodhisattva Maitreya from Ahichchhatra holding *Kuṇḍi* (*Amṛtaghaṭa*), No. M.A-8.
7. Recently an interesting article on this has been published in *Śrī Dineśa-Candrikā* (*Dr. D.C. Sircar Felicitation Volume*), *Studies in Indology*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 389-95, by Arun K.Nag, "Identification and Origin of the Sprinkler".
8. " *Mahābhārata, Śānti. Mokṣa.*, 284.92 ; Gita Press Edition, Gorakhpur 1958, p. 5173, quoted by N.P. Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 153, Note No. 52. The Botanical details are adapted from M.S. Randhawa, *A History of Agriculture in India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1980, p. 502. He also quotes *Atharvaveda* (720, 1-4), where an idiot is described like an empty bottle-gourd.
9. *Excavations at Rairh*, 1938-39 1939-40, Jaipur, 1941, p. 21, Pl. XX, ii ; S.R. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 53-54.
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11. M.D. Raghavan, *India in Cylonese History, Society and Culture*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 150, Fig. 6.
12. Bal Chandra Jain, *Mahant Ghasidasa Samgrahalaya Purātattva Upavibhāga Pradarshikā*, Raipur, 1960, p. 31, Pl. XIV. *Ka.*
13. K.D. Bajpai & S.K. Pandey, *Malhar 1975-78*, Sagar, 1978, pp. 13, 35.
14. N.P. Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, 1977, Line drawing no. 36 ; See foot-notes 16-19 below.
15. S.A. Dange, *Hindu Dharma āṇī Tatvajñāna* (Marathi), Pune, 1973, p. 223.
16. Chandrashekhar Gupta, "Maṇḍhaḷa se prāpta Mūrtiyām", *Pūrṇa*, Nagpur, 1981, pp. 246-247 ; N.P. Joshi, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, Line drawing (provided by us) between Pl. Figs. 100 & 101, p. 150. He has described this *tumbī* type *kamaṇḍalu* but failed to identify the curved *daṇḍa*. Incidentally, it may also be pointed out here that his caption, describing *Caturmukha Śiva* as *Caturmukha Linga*, on the line drawing, also supplied by us, is not correct. On p. 50 he has correctly described the same figure.
17. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Māṇḍhaḷa Utkhanana", *Vidarbha Samsodhana Mandala Varshika*, 1977, Nagpur, 1978, p. 146, Fig. 3. Here also the *daṇḍa* was not recognised and possibility of *kamaṇḍalu* was expressed.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 140, Fig. 5. Here also only *kamaṇḍalu* was recognised.
19. This sculpture is now lying in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The description is based on our own study.
20. The first site was situated in the territory governed by the main (or Nandivardhana) branch of the Vākāṭakas where as the second was in the area of the Vatsagulma branch of the same dynasty. Both were independent and till recently it was believed that the relations between the two branches remained quite cordial. While we have no evidence of their relationship in the early period, now we know that they were not so after the death of Pravarasena II of the main branch. This aspect of the history of the Vākāṭakas has been brought to light by Ajay Mitra Shastri. For details, see, *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 59 ff. There are some other aspects also which suggest that the Vatsagulma branch had more attachments with southern culture and close contracts with contemporary dynasties of the south. This statement is based on the facts that this branch adopted Prakrit for the genealogical portion of their grants, administrative titles for their officials and the religious titles *Dharma Mahārāja* and *Hāritī-putra* too. In the field of arts also some influence of the south must have come, which might have resulted in minor variations like the one under discussion. It was not that the north (or specifically, the Vākāṭaka art and architecture of the main branch) had no influence on that of the Vatsagulma branch. The best example of this inter-action can be seen in the rock-cut art at Ajanta.
21. The sculpture is now displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi. Late C. Sivaramamurti has identified it as *Śiva Vāmana*. S.B. Deo has first identified it as *Kubera* or *Jambhala* and placed it in c. 1st-2nd century A.D. (*Tarun Bharat*, Nagpur, dated the 4.7.1972). Later on he changed his views and proposed to

identify it as *Baṭuka Bhairava* (needless to say that both these identifications are not correct. It goes well with the epithets *Vāmana* and *Hṛsva* of Rudra, described in *Satarūdrīya*, as suggested by Sivaramamurti but from the attributes (viz., *akṣamālā, padma*), *varada mudra* and *āsana* the icon should be identified as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Śiva*, See, Chandrashekhar Gupta, "Vidarbha ki Prāchīna Śilpakalā", *Pūrnā*, Nagpur, 1977, p. 115. This icon has been identified as *Baṭuka Bhairava* by S.B. Deo (Vide, "A Unique Sculpture from Mansar (Maharashtra)", in *Sri M.Soma Sekhar Sarma Commemoration Volume*, pp. 275-7).

22. It is interesting, rather astonishing to note that a gold coin (*Aureus*) of the Roman emperor Julius Caesar, found in Chanda (Chandrapur) district of Vidarbha region, bear similar devices viz., a curved staff, a water jug-like pot with a handle and a beaded rosary placed vertically in profile so that only a straight line of beads is seen (P.P. Kulkarni, "Aureus of Julius Caesar from India", *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, Vol. IV (1981-82), Indore, 1982, p. 10. Pl. II, 6. Except for some minor variations in the details, e.g., the staff being more cursive and water vessel being different in shape (but it resembles well with our traditional *ghaṭa* or *jhārī*, if the handle is to be considered), and the sequence of the devices, it goes well with the devices on our seal. As it is clear, the coin of Julius Caesar (31 B.C.-14 A.D.) is quite earlier in date than the seal. It is logical to postulate that inspired by the devices on this type of Roman coins of Julius Caesar, Brahmāṇa the owner of the seal, might have devised his seal.
23. G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā* (Hindi), Pl. XLI, XLII.
24. There were definitely numerous ties between Orissan eastern region and Chhatisagarh region of Madhya Pradesh as both collectively comprised the ancient (Dakṣiṇa) Kosala country. Some of these can still be seen in costumes, customs, language, folk literature and traditions etc. of the bordering districts of these States, e.g., Raigarh district.
25. The Nalas, contemporary of the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha were most probably rulers of western Orissa and they gradually extended their sway over Kosala and Vidarbha also. Besides this, we have a mention in late Vākāṭaka grants issued by Pṛthivīsena II, that at the behest of his father Narendrasena was obeyed by the rulers of Kosala, Mekala and Malava. It is very difficult to accept or reject this statement in the present state of our knowledge, as no evidence is available. Ajay Mitra Shastri has suggested that Narendrasena, either as a prince-commander or after his accession may have played an important role in helping the Gupta King Kumāragupta I, in maintaining hold over these areas as some of his vassals in these areas might have rebelled during the closing years of latter's reign. Alternatively, he suggested that, Narendrasena took advantage of the precarious situation in which his Gupta cousin was placed to carry hurried raids in these territories. See, *Early History of the Deccan : Problems & Perspectives*, p. 61.
26. Late Prof. S.C. Behera of the Ancient India History Department of Sambalpur University, Sambalpur had planned to bring out some volumes on the cultural history of ancient Kosala, especially based on archaeological sources, but unfortunately, his death has deprived us of this great benefit.

54-55

pavement. The *pābhāga* portion of the *bāḍa* consists of four moulding, the two top ones being carved with lotus petal and *malliphulphaḍikā* designs. Above this, the *jaṅghā* is decorated with projections having miniature shrine like niches with sculptured figures within. (There are total eleven niches, south, west and north sides having three each and two in eastern side on both sides of the entrance). Over this is the 'varanda' decorated with *jhārāvalī* or a row of pendents on the lower edge and miniature *caitya* medallions with stylized ducks appear on the top. A plain recessed frieze separates the *gaṇḍi* from the *bāḍa*. The *gaṇḍi* is divided into *rāhāpāga*, two *kanika-pāgas* and two *anurāhā-pāgas*. The frontal *rāhāpāga* is more projected than the other three. The *kanika-pāgas* are divided into three sections with two rows of *bhumi amals* in between and one row on the top. The topmost course or *viṣama* is once more ornamented with *jhārāvalīs* under a beaded border and *caitya* medallions. The temple is complete with *beki, amala* and *kalaśa.*

Simple ornamentation is the marked feature of Bhuvaneśvara Mahādeva temple. The *ratha* projections are covered with beaded *caitya* window type medallions at regular intervals in rows, one above the other. The *caitya* windows on the lowest row (just above the *bāḍa*) contains seated figures of divinities and demi-gods. Rest are either empty or with Śiva-*liṅgams* in the centre. The only exception is the ornate medallion on the eastern *rāhā* which contains a *śārdūla* head resting on its front paws. It is definitely not a *kīrttimukha.* The *caitya* windows of southern, western and northern *rāhās* depict seated Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī and Kārttikeya respectively, each accompanied by two seated attendants in *kanika-pāga caitya* windows. The large ornate *caitya* windows in the frontal (eastern) *rāhāpāga* contains four Vīṇādhara Śiva and Pārvatī, seated gracefully side by side on a throne in *lalitāsana* and *sukhāsana* with their respective mounts carved on the throne base below their dangling right feet. This image is slightly different from the usual *Vīṇādhara-dakṣiṇā-mūrti* of Śiva (Double line beaded border decorate the *caitya* window).

Just above this panel, on the second *bhūmi* of the *rāhāpāga* is the beautiful *caitya* medallion mentioned earlier, decorated with double lines of bead motifs topped with floral scrolls. In its centre is a *śārdūla* head resting on its two front paws. No where in this temple we find the usual *kīrttimukha* motif of the later period.

The small door of the temple is very simply decorated. The door-jambs had *dvārapāla* figures carved inside a recess on the base (right hand side jamb is lost now). The *haṁsa-latā* scroll starts just above this recess and continues on the lintel also. There is a rectangular niche on the centre of this lintel containing Gajalakṣmī image seated in *paryaṅkāsana* on *viṣama-padma* or double petalled lotus. The sculpture is complete with two elephants on lotus stalk, pouring water over the head of the deity. The door-way is flanked by Gaṅgā and Yamunā images inside niches on the left and right hand sides of the temple respectively. The niches are shaped as miniature *khākhara-muṇḍi* temples having pilasters with square tops on the front. They are decorated with *malliphula-phaḍikā* designs. Both the river goddesses stand on their respective *vāhanas*, the *makara* and tortoise in *abhaṅga* pose, left leg slightly bent and left palm resting on the left thigh. But their execution is not exactly similar. Gaṅgā is more finely executed than the stocky Yamunā.

The real sculptural wealth of this temple are the nine figures inside niches on the *bāḍa*, three in each side, south, west and north. In this east facing temple these figures take the places of the *pārśva-devatās*. But instead of Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Pārvatī images we usually find in Orissan Śiva temples. Here two of the *Pārśva-devatās* are Śiva itself in two different forms. Each side has three niches the central one, not only bigger but a little different in shape also, though all the three stand on the same level. All these niches are shaped like miniature temples of *khākhara-muṇḍi* type, similar to those frontal niches with Gaṅgā and Yamunā images. Their door-jambs are decorated with *malliphula-phaḍikā* scrolls and lotus petal carved pillar heads.

The central niche of the southern side (40 x 29 cm) contain an image of Śiva (40 x 29 cm) in his *bhikṣāṭanamūrti*. Assuming this form the God begged for food and received it from his consort on one occasion. The two-armed youthful deity stands nude (*urddhvaliṅgam*) in *abhaṅga* pose on a full blown lotus pedestal holding an ornamental umbrella in his right hand and a begging bowl in his left hand. The umbrella staff is stretched on his right shoulder and he is decorated with *jaṭā-mukuṭa, sarpa-kuṇḍala, ratnahāra, sarp-opavīta, sarpa-balaya* and *aṅgada*. He is flanked by an emaciated male figure on the right and a female figure on the left corner of the pedestal, both in dancing postures. The full blown lotuses are partially visible on the stella corners. The side niches contain four-armed standing Gaṇeśa (in the right

side of the central niche) and Kārttikeya on his mount peacock (on the left). Both these smaller niches are partially damaged.

On the western side of the central niche measuring 40 x 29 cm a four-armed Vṛsabhanātha Śiva is found, standing against his mount holding rosary in his upper right hand, *tarjanī-pāśa* in the upper left hand, a vase in the lower left hand and *varada* pose in the lower right hand. He is flanked by a standing female figure on the left and a seated emaciated *gaṇa* on the right. Pedestal front depicts full blown lotus and stems. Two flying *vidyādharas* are depicted on the stella.

The figure on the two side niches are too damaged to be identified or described clearly. Both appear to be Śaivite deities, probably Bhairava standing against their *vāhana* bull and both are four-armed. That of the left niche holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in the upper hand and lower right is in *varada* pose.

A beautiful eight-armed *Mahiṣamardinī* image (41 cm x 24 cm) occupies the central niche on the northern side of the temple. One of the upper right hand weilding a sword over her head and the other strikes the trident in the body of the subjugated Mahiṣāsura holding down his head with her two left hands. She holds an arrow in her third right hand and the object in the lower right hand is not clear due to damage. In the upper most left hand, there is a circular shield and the next hand holds the bow. The deity stands with her right foot on the left shoulder of the demon. Mahiṣāsura has been depicted in the theriomorphic form with buffalo head and human body. He squats, facing the Devī, holding a dagger in his right hand. The Devī's mount lion has attacked Mahiṣāsura from his left. Position of his right leg indicates flying posture. It is a very animated scene full of vigour.

The figure on the right side niche is that of a four-armed Bhairava standing on a prostrate corpse. He holds rosary, staff or *paraśu* in the right and left upper hands and *varada-mudrā* and water pot in the lower right and left hands respectively.

The figure on the left hand niche is difficult to identify and it is very badly damaged. But one thing can definitely be said that it is either the Ajaika-pāda Bhairava or the Ekapāda image of Śiva.

The *caitya* medallions over these side niches, have the Śiva-*liṅgam* in the centre in place of flowers as on the similar medallions on the western and northern sides.

Stylistically, the temple can be assigned to the 8th century A.D. and has close similarity to the Paraśurāmeśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara temples of Bhubaneswar. Its miniature size, over simple execution and signs of handiwork on different sculptures, makes one wonder whether this temple was a group of artists' personal creation or done on experimental basis. Whatever may be the reason behind its construction, Bhuvaneśvara Mahādeva temple is a beautiful specimen of the early Orissan temple architecture which is still in good condition to a certain extent.

Ever since its taking over by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1986, extensive repair has been done to conserve the temple.

9

TEN FRAGMENTARY ROCK INSCRIPTIONS FROM BAṆKĀḌA

B.K. RATH,
AND
S.K. ACHARYA

Excavation work of Bankāḍagaḍa was undertaken by Orissa State Archaeology during the years 1978-79 to 1981-82. The excavation work was done at a place called Māla-puñjiāmā near Niladriprasad, 35 kms away from Banpur in Khurda Sub-Division of Puri district. The excavation was conducted by Dr. B.K. Rath and assisted by Sri A.K. Chopdar, Technical Asst. and Sri D.C. Panda, Photographer, under the guidance of Sri P.K. Ray, Superintendent of Orissa State Archaeology.

The excavation work exposed a big temple complex. The temple consists of two chambers and its lower portions were exposed. There were six subsidiary shrines found inside the complex. Four were found on four corners and two were found on north and south sides along the inner *Prākāra*, which encloses the complex. The complex had a gateway structure. The operation was more of debris-clearance in nature and large number of carved stones were removed and stacked outside the complex. These carved stone pieces included parts of temples, independent sculptures of cult deities and inscribed stones, all obviously parts of the temple. The inscribed stones are nine in number. In addition we came across short inscription on the *pābhāga* of the temple on its southern side (Ins. No. 10). Most of these inscriptions are short and single line writings and are also fragmentary in nature. These inscriptions as per their documentation serial numbers are edited below for the first time. Inscription No. 9 being a shell inscription is not being edited here. We

acknowledge our gratitude to Dr. (Smt.) S. Tripathy, Epigraphist, Orissa State Museum, for her kind help in reading the inscriptions immediately after the excavation work was over. Since then no effort was made to edit these inscriptions in full and publish the findings. Now here we make a fresh attempt to decipher and bring these inscriptions to the notice of the scholarly world.

From palaeographical point of view the inscriptions can be dated in the period from about A.D. 600 to the middle of eighth century A.D. This in turn leads us to assign the inscriptions to the ruler of the Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgoda Maṇḍala (C.A.D. 575 to A.D. 736) as these were discovered in the area identified with the capital of Koṅgoda.

No. 1

The inscribed rock measures 42 x 38 x 28 cms. It is a single-lined inscription having six letters only. The characters of this inscription belong to the early part of the eighth century A.D.

Text

Pratihāra-pra(prā)ṇa

Notes

(a) The second letter is quite ambiguous. In our opinion the scribe had initially engraved *dha* in place of *ta*. Later on it was corrected for *ta*. The fifth letter is devoid of a sign. It should be *prā* instead of *pra*.

(b) Except *ṇa* all other letters are crowned by hollow triangular head-marks. The letter *pa* has occured twice. On the first occasion it is seen in the form of a slanting horizontal bar connecting the head-mark in the left and the vertical in the right. On the second occasion the usual letter-form is noticed. In *ti* medial *i* covers the entire left half. *Ra* is a simple vertical with a left-going, slanting stroke at the bottom. *Ha* is devoid of the additional downward curve. *Ṇa* has two curves facing down and joining the right upright. Here the letter *ṇa* appears to be more advanced in the series.

(c) The text of the present epigraph reminds us of the two Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscriptions, Nos. 3 and 4 of A. Ghosh, the editor, in which we get the suffices *prana* and *prana* respectively. In the opinion of A. Ghosh,—*prana* in No. 3 and *Sri Prasitara-pra* (*pra*) *na* in No. 4 are probably identical. Since these inscriptions and the present inscription are not far

removed in point of time and not far off in respect of their proveniences, we incline to identify *Pratihāra-pra (prā) ṇa* of our inscription with-prana and Sri *Prasitara-pra* (*pra*) *ṇa* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple inscriptions. It appears to be more plausible that *prana* or *Sri Prasi-tara-prana* was a *Pratihāra* or the royal door-keeper, an official designation usually found mentioned in the copper plate grants of Orissa after the seventh century A.D.[3]

Translation

Praṇa, the royal door-keeper.

No. 2

The inscribed rock measures 75 x 86 x 22 cms and runs into two lines. The second line is badly mutilated, only six letters could be traced out. The language is Sanskrit and the characters of this and the following inscriptions, belong to the first half of the seventh century. The nearest resemblance of the characters of these inscriptions can be seen in the Sumandala plates of Dharmarāja of Gupta Era 250 (A.D. 569-70)[4] and the Ganjam plates of Mādharavavman of Gupta Era 300 (A.D. 619-20).

Text

1. Oṁ guccha sū (su) kara-bhadranta
   Vra (Vṛ) hisiṅgha (righa) mayajita(ḥ)
2. (Pari ?) nitastatrijñasyaḥ (sya).......

Notes

(a) Among the orthographical peculiarities mention may be made of the use of medial *ū* in place of *u* as in *sukara*, the use of both *r* and subscript *ra* in *vra* in place of only *ṛ*, the use of dental *na* in place of guttural *ṅa* in—siṅgha ; the omission of the *visarga* after *mayajita* and its commission after—*statrajnasya*.

Om is represented by a symbol.

(b) Except *ga* and *na* all other letters have solid triangular head-marks. In case of *ma*, *ya* and *ra* they are attached to their left limbs. The other palaeographical features are ; *ga* with its cursive back, sub-script *gha* with its three prongs having equal height ; *ca* with its triangle pointing left ; *ja* with its upper bar omitted ; *na* with its firm base-line ; *ta* with its cursive back ; *da* with its small right vertical, *na* with its loop, *bha* with its angular back, *ma*

with its compressed left limb ; *ra* with its slanting bar issuing from the middle of the vertical, *sa* with its opened left half, *va* and *ta* with their cursive backs. The application of the medials and the ligatones such as *ngha, ccha, jna, nta, dra, tra, sya* seems to be archaic.

(c) Vrhisingha appears to be the name of a person.

1. Oh Vrhisingha, the doer of good deeds and the gentle, I have won.
2. (in marriage to) his......

No. 3

The inscribed rock measures 70 x 50 x 30 cms. The writing is made in two lines. It is very clearly incised. About the language and script of the inscription we have remarked earlier.

Text

1.Pracchannaṁ kila bhoktavyaṁ daridreṇa viśeṣata[ḥ]

2.Āhāreṇatu daurvalyaṁ Yaśasiṁhena Viditaḥ II

Notes

(a) Since the palaeographical features of most of the letters have been discussed above it is needless to repeat them here. Among the other important letter-forms mention may be made of *ā, pa, la, va, sa, śa,* etc. The initial *a* with its left facing curve issuing from the bottom of the right vertical is also seen in the 6th-8th century inscriptions of Orissa. *Pa* is the same as *ma* minus the left-going tick. The curve of *la* joins the right vertical at its bottom by a horizontal dash as seen in the 7th century inscriptions of Orissa and its left terminal is slightly curled. *Va* has both the cursive and angular back. *Sa* is not written in its usual fashion. The two side strokes are gently bent, the horizontal below turns to be a totally slanting bar and even the middle, cross-bar is again a gentle curve. *Sa* with its horizontal cross-bar and left going stroke is seen in the 7th century inscriptions.

(b) Like Vṛhisiṅgha, Yaśasiṁha also appears to be the name of a person.

Translation

1. (One) specially poor (person) has definitely eaten in seclusion.
2. Yaśasiṁha has established (shown) (his) weakness for eating.

No. 4

The inscribed rock measures 85 x 55 x 15 cms. The inscription contains seven letters and they are very carelessly incised. The characters appear to be slightly earlier than the inscription No. 2 and 3 above.

Text

Vīra-Kapila-(Ya ?) śa (ḥ)

Notes

(a) The looped *ka* and the vertical *ra* have superfluous limbs at their bottom. The vertical of *ra* is also bent at the middle possibly due to the substance worked on. *Va* is devoid of the head-mark and therefore resembles *dha*. The medial *i* above the letter is archaic. The right vertical of *pa* is drawn in a slanting manner. Its left vertical and bottom horizontal strokes are drawn in one action. The letters *la* and *sa* are quite clear. *Śa* has a foot-mark at its bottom left which as well as the medial *i* on the top of the first letter suggest an early date for the epigraph.

(b) Vīra Kapila appears to be the name of a person.

Translation

Kapila, the hero.

No. 5

The inscribed rock measures 55 x 35 x 10 cms. It is a broken piece of rock having the inscription on two lines ; the first line has four letters and the second line has only one letter. The characters belong to the eighth century A.D.

Text

1. Śrī-Raṇato......
2. di.....

Notes

(a) The letters such as *ta, da, ra* and *śa* are having the hollow triangular wedges. *Ta* has two slanting strokes going down the wedge. *Ṇa* is archaic. *Da* has a cursive back. The left-going slanting bar of *ra* touches its vertical at the bottom. *Śa* has a triangular foot-mark and its top cursive back is curled in. Though the application of the medial *o* is archaic, the medial *i* and the subscript *ra* are advanced. These letter features as well as the letter-forms

such as *ra* and *śa* suggest a date somewhere in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

(b) The letter *di* in 1.2 should not be taken as a continuation of the word *Raṇato* in 1.1. Since the other part of the inscribed rock is not found in the locality it is unwise to extend such remarks. However, *Śrī Raṇato* appears to be the name of a person.

Translation

Śrī Raṇato

No. 6

The stone containing an inscription in one line measures 55 x 30 x 25 cms. The six letters in the line are clearly incised. The characters of the inscription belong to the second half of the sixth century and as such is anterior to the inscriptions No. 2, 3 and 4 discussed above. So to say, this is the earliest record in the series.

Text

Ānatā(ta) vri(vi)lola

Notes

(a) The head-marks are small solid triangles as noticed in the records of the sixth century.

(b) The first letter of the inscription is certainly the initial *a*. The second letter is the looped *na* ; the terminal of the loop goes only slightly beyond the vertical. The third letter may be taken as the double-pronged *ta*. The medial *a* is superfluous here. The fourth letter seems to be either *ra* or *cha* with the medial *i* covering the entire left half and touching the head-marks and the subscript *ra*. Since there is no doubt regarding the reading of the following two letters as *lola* we have taken it to be *va*. The subscript *ra* is unnecessary.

Translation

The text of the inscription does not make any sense at all.

No. 7

The inscribed rock measures 80 x 50 x 33 x 25 cms. The single-lined inscription contains six letters. The characters closely resemble the eighth century inscriptions of Orissa and they are clearly engraved.

Text

Parakaṭṭa (ta) - Caṇḍa

Notes

(a) Excepting the letters *ta* and *na* all others have straight line head-marks which is a later feature. But the retaining of the old *ṇa* in the compound *ṇḍa* evidently makes us believe that the record could not go beyond the eighth century. *Pa* resembles a square ; the left-going slanting bar of *ra* touches the vertical at its bottom ; *ka* is looped ; *ta* is a semi-circle facing right while the subscript *ta* faces down ; *ca* is a triangle pointing left ; the subscript *ḍa* in *ṇḍa* is a downward stroke slightly bent in middle.

(b) The word *parakaṭṭa* seems to be a Prakritised version of Sanskrit *Prakaṭa*, meaning image.

Translation

(The image (of) Caṇḍa, (the Śaiva door-keeper).

No. 8

The inscribed rock measures 40 x 60 x 40 cms. It is a single-lined inscription containing four letters in total. The characters closely resemble the inscription No. 4 of Paraśurāmeśvara temple ; it therefore belongs to the eighth century.

Text

Śrī-Saṁgrāma

Notes

(a) The inscription is written in a very ornate style, but the style is less ornate in comparison to No. 4 of Paraśurāmeśvara temple. The head-marks of *ma*, *sa* and the foot-marks of *ga*, *śa* are quite similar in fashion. It is seen in the form of a horizontal with two semicircles meeting at the centre. In case of the head-mark, the horizontal is seen above and the two semicircles below, but in the foot-mark it is drawn upside down. All the letters are incised in a slanting manner.

(b) The looped *ma* and the double-curved *sa* are advanced letter-forms in the series. The test letter *sa* can be compared with its counter-part in No. 5 and 10. Both the latter records are possibly incised earlier to the present one. *Ga* is drawn in an angular way while *śa* is written in its usual fashion. The

medial *ā* is a curve attached to the top right, the medial *i* covers the total height of the letter to its right; the *anuavāra* on the top of *sa* is a full circle the subscript *ra* is a straight line to left.

Translation

Śrī Saṁgrāma

No. 10

This is a temple inscription. The inscription is written in single line and there are all five letters in total. The writing is flawless and careful. The script belongs to about the first half of the eighth century A.D.

Text

Śrī Purṇṇāditya

Note

(a) The solid triangular head-marks are seen attached to the top of *ta*, *da* and to both the limbs of *pa*. In case of *rṇṇa*, a hollow triangle is affixed to the top of the *repha*.

(b) The letters do not call for special remark. But the writing is made in a very stylised manner. The style is particularly noticeable in the two curves of *ṇa*, the cursive strokes of *ta*, the acute-angled back of *da*, the curl portion of *śa*, the medial *i*, the subscript *ya* and the *repha*.

(c) Śri Purṇṇāditya appears to be the name of a person.

Translation

Śrī Purṇṇāditya

NOTES

1. *E.I.*, XXVI, 126-27.
2. *Ibid*, 127, n. 1.
3. *Ibid*, XXIII, 122-31 ; VI, 133-40 ; XXIII, 263-65.
4. *OHRJ*, I, 66-69, E.I., XXVIII, 79-85.
5. *E.I.*, VI, 143-46.
6. *Ibid*, XXVI, Plate facing 127.

10

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SENKAPAT STONE-SLAB INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚIVAGUPTA BĀLĀRJUNA

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The well-dressed Vindhyan stone-slab, bearing this inscription was found at the village known as Senkapat on the right bank of the river Mahānadī, some two miles to the south of ancient Śrīpura (modern Sirpur), representing the ancient capital of Kosala under the latter Śarabhapurīyas and Pāṇḍuvaṁśins who followed them in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The slab, measuring about 30" long, 18" high and 3" thick and reddish buff in colour, apparently belonged to one of the temples in the western part of the village, but has now been brought to and deposited in the Archaeological Museum of Harisingh Gour Vishvavidyalaya, Sagar. The inscription has been edited by M.G. Dikshit and D.C. Sircar.[1] A portion of this record has generated some controversy between V.V. Mirashi[2] and D.C. Sircar.[3] The inscription is of great value for the history of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins of South Kosala as well as that of Vidarbha. But its importance has eluded historians alike. Its real importance is brought out first in these pages.

The record belongs to the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the last known chief of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa (also called Somavaṁśa), who flourished in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.[4] and is incised in the early Nāgarī (or proto-Nāgarī) characters regular to the lithic inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.[5] The language is Sanskrit, and, but for the introductory *maṅgala* (*namaḥ Śivāya)*, it is composed throughout in beautiful stanzas in a variety of metres. It is not dated in any reckoning, but can be assigned to the

second half of the eighth century A.D. on independent grounds. Its object is to record the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication to a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of agricultural land granted by the benefactor, *viz.*, Durgarakṣita, a feudatory under Śivagupta.

The record mentions a Brāhmaṇa named Śivarakṣita, styled king (rājan), who governed the district (*viṣaya*) known as Navyāsī (v. 5) which defies identification but was evidently a revenue division comprising eighty-nine villages.[6] He was apparently a feudatory chief, but the name of his overlord is left out, probably due to oversight.[7] His son and successor, Devarakṣita, was a contemporary and a close confidant of Nannarāja (v. 6). He is said to have obtained, evidently from Nannarāja, the governorship of the Vindhyan territory extending up to the river Varadā, modern Wardha, (*Vindhya-dhūrdharatvam Varadā-taṭa-parihatām*),[8] and became famous as Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra (storehouse of fame). From this very 'king of kings' (*nara-nātha-nātha*) he got some other districts (*viṣayas*)[9], apparently as fief or for governing (v. 8). His son and successor, Durgarakṣita, was a vassal of Bālārjuna (vv. 9-10). A great devotee of Śiva, he built an unique temple of god Śambhu, i.e., Śiva[10] (vv. 11-13), around which fluttered a row of flags (v. 14). A couple of *halas* of black soil land (*kṛṣṇa-tala*) in the village Guḍaśarkaraka was given away, evidently to this temple, by means of a charter (śāsana) (v. 15). Next is mentioned a Śaiva ascetic called Sadyaḥśivācārya hailing from the penance-grove (*tapovana*) named Āmardaka[11] (v. 16). We are next introduced to another ascetic called Sadāśivācārya who is said to have been foremost of Sadyaḥśivācārya's brother's grand-pupils and was apparently Sadyaḥśivācārya's spiritual successor (v. 17). The temple was made over along with black-soil land in the village Koḍasīmā and two other plots of black-soil land in the village named Viyāṇaka and at a place called Lāṭa in the village of Śrīparṇikā to Sadāśivācārya. The conditions governing the grant described in the next three stanzas (22-24) included the arrangement of sacrificial rite, the ceremony of initiation into the Śaiva faith (*dīkṣā*), the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine (*samaya*) and a free feeding house (*sattra*) annually on the full moon days of the month of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Māgha, which are evidently regarded as specially sacred by the Śaivas besides prohibition on indulging in money-lending. The boundaries of the gift land are specified in verses 25-26, but except Śiva-samudra, which denoted a large tank, they are not much useful in the present discussion. The eulogy is said to have been composed by

Sumaṅgala, son of Tāradatta, and engraved by *Sūtradhāra* Ṛṣigaṇa's son Vasugaṇa (vv. 29-30).

The above summary of contents gives rise to certain questions of paramount interest to a student of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin history. The first problem concerns the identity of king Nannarāja. There is no doubt that he belonged to the Somavaṁśa or what is popularly known to historians as Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, for, in verses 3-4 the reigning king Śivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna of the lineage of moon (*Sītāṁśu-vaṁśa*) is mentioned even as some other contemporary rulers are introduced in some other records in the beginning.[12] And this is followed by the reference to Nannarāja whereafter again we find mention of Bālārjuna. Till the publication of this inscription only one Pāṇḍava king of this name was known from the Arang inscription of his time.[13] He was removed from Śivagupta by no less than three intervening kings, to wit, Mahāśiva Tivaradeva, his brother Candragupta and the latter's son Harṣagupta, according to the information available earlier,[14] and by four including Nannarāja between Tivaradeva and Candragupta as we know now, thanks to the discovery of Nannarāja's incomplete Aḍabhāra grant.[15] As against it, Devarakṣita, contemporary and vassal of Nannarāja, and his son Durgarakṣita, contemporaneous with the feudatory of Śivagupta Balārjuna, represented two generations. It would, therefore, be most reasonable to identify Nannarāja, overlord of Devarakṣita, with the second king of that name who may have ruled from c. 680 to 700 A.D.[16] In that case the interval between Nannarāja II and Śivagupta (c. 740-800 A.D.) would be only about forty years which can be easily explained away.[17] If, on the other hand, he is regarded as identical with the first king of his name, the chronological gap between him and Śivagupta would be too much (about eighty years) to be equated with a couple of generations of feudal chiefs and it would be impossible to regard them as contemporaries of two kings separated from one another by some eighty years. After the discovery of this inscription, the Aḍhabhāra plates of Nannarāja were published and Dikshit and Sircar were aware of this fact. However, they only pointed out that the identification of Nannarāja II with Nannarāja of the Senkapat inscription 'cannot be ruled out'.[18] But they proceeded with the assumed identity of Nannarāja mentioned in the inscription under review with the first king bearing this name. This led them to doubt if Candragupta and Harṣagupta, the two kings known to have intervened between Tīvaradeva and Śivagupta, 'actually ascended the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi throne and ruled for very short

periods or ruled parts of South Kosala as viceroys of Tīvara is not definitely known' The contemporanity of Nannarāja and Devarakṣita as well as of the former's great-grandson and the latter's son suggests that Śivagupta Bālārjuna ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Tīvara's death.[19] However, the problem is now solved once for all, and it can be concluded that the Nannarāja of our record is undoubtedly identical with Nannarāja II and there is no need to assume either that Candragupta and Harṣagupta did not ascend the throne or if they did, they ruled for very short period and that there was not much chronological gap between the death of Tīvaradeva and the accession of his grand-nephew Śivagupta Bālārjuna.

Secondly, as we have seen, the inscription states that Devarakṣita got from Nannarāja (II) the Vindhyan territory extending up to the river Varaaa. This would indicate the extension of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa rule up to the Chanda-Gadchiroli region of Vidarbha in Maharashtra. This interpretation is not acceptable to V.V. Mirashi according to whom the reading and the interpretation of this portion of the record are extremely doubtful. He reads *durdharatvam* and *phaṇi* (instead of *dhūrdharatvam* and *pari* respectively of Dikshit and Sircar)[20] and thinks that the verse actually describes Devarakṣita as 'irresistible like the Vindhya mountain' and finds an allusion to his extermination of a Nāga king (*phaṇin*) of Varadā-taṭa and concludes that 'there is not an iota of evidence to show that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings were ever ruling over the Chanda District, or, for the matter of that, over any part of Vidarbha'.[21] Irrespective of the difference of opinion regarding the reading and interpretation of this stanza, however, the inference regarding the extension of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa kingdom up to the Varadā in the Chanda-Gadchiroli region of Vidarbha and perhaps even beyond it is irresistible. If as suggested by Mirashi, the verse actually alludes to the killing of a Nāga king by Devarakṣita, it would only mean that the Vidarbha region was at that time under the rule of a Nāga family which was put to end during the reign of Nannarāja II by his vassal, Devarakṣita. Even if Mirashi's suggestion that Devarakṣita merely raided the country up to the bank of the Varadā,[22] were to be admitted, it would certainly indicate the conquest of this region during the time of the Pāṇḍava king Nannarāja II whose vassal he was,[23] evidently on behalf of his overlord. If on the other hand, the view of Dikshit and Sircar that Devarakṣita received the territory up to the Varadā from Nannarāja is accepted, it would follow that this region was already under the Pāṇḍuvaṁśins.

When Nannarāja II was not known, the discovery of this epigraph was taken to strengthen the conjecture that the Vidarbha region was ruled by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa kings from the very beginning. This view was based on the erroneous belief that the stone inscription mentioning Nannarāja I hailed from Bhandak in the Chanda (now Chandrapur) District.[24] But we have shown elsewhere that the inscription was brought to the Central Museum, Nagpur,[25] from Arang, not Bhandak, and that the inscription should accordingly be christened after Arang and we have therefore called it Arang stone inscription.[26] And now that we know that there were two kings, not one, of the name Nannarāja, Nannarāja of this inscription cannot be equated with Nannarāja I, as has been shown above. And the clear assertion in our epigraph that Devarakṣita became famous as 'storehouse of fame' (*Yaśobhāṇḍāgāra*) by acquiring the rulership of the Vindhyan region extending up to the Varadā naturally leads us to conclude that this was indeed achieved by Devarakṣita himself on behalf of his suzerian. Otherwise merely getting this region to govern from Nannarāja II could not have been a matter of sufficient pride to justify the assumption to this *viruda*. In the light of this fact we can conclude that the territorial extension in Vidarbha was attained during the reign of Nannarāja II by his feudatory Devarakṣita.

The question now arises as to when it took place. In the Aḍhabhāra plates the donor, Nannarāja II, is said to have been the master of the entire Kosala country (*prāpta-sakala-Kosala-maṇḍal-ādhipatyaḥ*) as against his father, Tīvaradeva, is represented to have obtained the lordship of the entire Kosala, Utkala and other *maṇḍalas* (regions) by the prowess of his own arms (*sva-bhuja-parākram opārjita-sakala-Kosal-Otkal-ādi-maṇḍal-ādhipatya-prāpta-māhātmya*).[27] This would indicate that till the date of the issue of this charter he had not added any new territory to the ancestral kingdom of Kosala and had perhaps to eat an humble pie by losing whatever control his father exercised over Utkala and other provinces and that it must have been some time after it that this southward extension must have taken place. Unfortunately, this grant is left undated and incomplete, but we shall not be far removed from truth if we date this event about the middle of his eventful reign, i.e., about 690 A.D. This position apparently continued till the time of Śivagupta because otherwise this fact would not have been mentioned by the eulogist.

The continuation of the inclusion of this territory in the Pāṇḍava kingdom during Śivagupta's reign is perhaps strengthened by the mention of certain villages in connection with the grant of land to the temple built by Durgarakṣita who was his feudatory. Dikshit and Sircar had difficulty in locating these places around Senkapat, the findspot of the inscription, and could not locate all the localities satisfactorily. But they can be located much more satisfactorily in the Chanda-Gadchiroli region of Vidarbha. Thus the village of Guḍaśarkaraka can be easily identified with the modern village of Guḍasellā in the Rajura Tahsil. Koḍasīmā is even now known as Koḍasī situated in the same Tahsil, with only the final *akṣara ma* dropped. The village Śrīparṇika can be easily equated with modern Siwanapalli in the Sironcha Tahsil, and Lāṭa is still known by its ancient name in the Gadchiroli Tahsil The village of Viyāṇaka is probably represented by modern Binaguada in the Sironcha Tahsil.[28]

These identifications, which are very probable in most cases, cannot be objected to on the ground that the identified villages are situated far away from the temple. For we have examples, especially in the South, of the grants of villages located much further away.[29]

From the foregoing discussion we can easily conclude that the region of adjoining Vidarbha up to the river Varadā was conquered during the reign of Nannarāja II and continued to form a part of the Pāṇḍava kingdom up to the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna.

REFERENCES

1. "Senkapat Inscription of the Time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna", *EI*, XXXI, pp. 31-36. For the Nāgarī version of the text and its abstract, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins* and *Somavaṁśins*, Part II, pp. 154-59.
2. "Notes on Senkapat Inscription", *Ibid.*, No. 1, XXXIII, pp. 251-54.
3. "Notes on Senkapat Inscription", No. 2, *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.
4. For full discussion of the chronology of Pāṇḍuvaṁśins, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Early History of the Deccan : Problems and Perspectives*, Delhi, 1987, ch. 13 : *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas*, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins, Part I, pp. 139-57.
5. The only stone inscriptions known to date belong to the reign of its last member, Śivagupta Bālārjuna.
6. Administrative divisions named after numbers were very popular in South India and Western Deccan.

7. That it was not deliberate is indicated by the subsequent mention of Nanna and Bālārjuna. He may have been Tīvaradeva, Nanna's father.
8. It should have been grammatically *parihatam*, not *parihatām*, to be an adjective of *dhūrdharatvam*, as pointed out by Mirashi. But such mistakes are not uncommon in even ornate records like the present one.
9. There must have been at least three such districts as indicated by the use of plural.
10. The inscription must have belonged to this temple.
11. Āmardaka enjoys considerable importance in the history of a line of Śaiva ascetics. The Ranod stone inscription describes the spiritual predecessor of Purandara, the founder of the well-known Mattamayūra clan of Śaiva ascetics as *Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha*, See *EI*, I, p. 355, v. 9. Obviously he had established himself at Āmardaka. We learn from the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva (*ibid.*, III, p. 266, text-line 13) that Āmardaka was the home of a line of the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Sopuriya clan. Āmardaka was, thus, a prominent centre of the Śaiva Siddhānta school to which the Mattamayūra clan belonged. It was, however, not been identified satisfactorily so far. V.V. Mirashi proposed to locate it in western Malwa basing on a stanza from Brahmaśambhu's *Pañjikā* and a few other considerations (*Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, CII*, IV, p. CLII). This view was once accepted by us also. See our *Tripuri* (Hindi), p. 98. However, the discovery of the Rañjaṇā (Parbhani District) stone inscription of Mahamaṇḍaleśvara Āmaṇadeva (Brahmananda Deshpande, *Sodhamudra* (Marathi), p. 57) and the Ardhapur stone inscription of the Ratta chief Ballāla (N.S. Pohnekar, *Raṭṭavaṁśīya Ballāla vāchā Ardhapura Śilālekha*) seem to favour its identification with Auṇḍhā Nāganātha (Parbhani District) which is famous for its *jyotirlinga.*
12. Eg. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II which similarly refers to him as Satyāśraya
13. This inscription was earlier believed to hail from Bhandak, but it has been shown that it really was originally put up at Arang in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins* and *Somavaṁśins*, Part II, p. 95, fn. 3.
14. From the Arang inscription of Nannarāja I, copper-plate grants of his son Tīvaradeva and one of the Sirpur inscriptions of the time of Śivagupta.
15. *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 116-17. For its incompleteness, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "A Note on the Adhabhāra Plates of Maha-Nannarāja", *JOI*, XXV, pp. 67-69.
16. For this date, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins* and *Somavaṁśins*, Part I, p. 157.
17. This is based on the assumption that both Candragupta and Harṣagupta ruled for twenty years each. See *ibid.*
18. *EI*, XXXI, p. 34, fn. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
20. *EI*, XXXIII, p. 251.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
22. *EI*, XXXIII, p. 254.

23. Mirashi invariably refers to him as 'minister', but in the record in question he is nowhere mentioned in ministerial capacity and actually appears to have been a feudal chief.
24. This suggestion, originally made by Cunningham, is supported by some epigraphists and historians including Dikshit and Sircar. See *EI*, XXXI, p. 34 ; XXXIII, p. 256.
25. It has since been shifted to Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum at Raipur.
26. See *ISPS*, part II, p. 95.
27. Ajay Mitra Shastri, ISPS, Part II, p. 116, text-lines 5-6 and 8.
28. I am thankful for these identifications to my colleague Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta.
29. K. Ismail, *Kamataka Temples : Their Role in Socio-Economic Life*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 38, 52 ff. ; *EC*, V. Arkalgud, 21, ; *Ibid.*, IX, CP. 130.

11

MONASTERIES IN ANCIENT ORISSA

SUNIL KUMAR PATNAIK

Buddhism began as a religious movement and was confined mainly to recluses, generally known as Bhikṣus and Bhikṣunis. Bhikṣus means those living in the forest who have purified themselves by austerities, those who know and are learned, become almsmen and only they have the privilege to enter the realm of Eternal Being. The senior Bhikṣus who got reputation for their intellectual attainments were known as Śramaṇas (Pali-Samaṇa). We come across *śamaṇa-bahmaṇa* or *bahmaṇa-śamaṇa* frequently in the Aśokan edicts.[1] The followers of Buddha were designated as *Śākyaputta śamaṇa*. These *śamaṇas* were the propagators of the message of *Dhamma* for which they travelled far and wide. During rainy season, they stopped their travellings and stayed together for four months at one place. This stay-in-accordance was called *vassavāsa*.[2] The injunction of *vassavāsa* gave rise to the idea of development of a monastery. When these wandering monks (Bhikṣus) started their settled life, they used to stay in *āvāsas* or *ārāmas* and the monks of single fraternity started to live in *leṇas* (caves). In the early Christian era these above mentioned places were called *vihāras* (monasteries). Wherever the monks came and settled, monasteries were built for them.

These monasteries were built in two stages. (i) *Bhikṣu-gharas* (residential) and then when the *saṅgha* started, (ii) *Cetiya-gharas* where the congregational prayer and worship were conducted before a *stupa* or a Buddha image. Then there developed *maṇḍapas* or the pillared assembly halls. Under the Guptas the monastic establishment developed much bigger and richer artistic decorations with plentiful provision for the inmates were

provided. The structural measurements of the monasteries were enlarged and both the sides, inner and outer, of the buildings were beautified with sculptures and paintings.[3] The builders of the monasteries were mostly wealthy lay devotees. Sometimes, land grants or endowments were made by kings.[4]

The earliest reference to a monastery in Orissa was that of Bhojakagiri Mahāvihāra built by Aśoka for his brother Tissa.[5] Dharmarakṣita, a preceptor of Buddhism in western India, spent his last days with Tissa in this monastery located in Kaliṅga.[6] Kaliṅga was also famous for the monasteries of Odantapuri and Dhānyakaṭaka (now in Andhra Pradesh) which served as model for the Tibetan monasteries.[7]

The recent archaeological excavations in Orissa have brought to light the fact that a number of monasteries flourished in early Christian era. Some of these are discussed here while taking into consideration the archaeological data available so far.

The *Gaṇḍavyuha*,[8] a Sanskrit Buddhist text presents a vivid description of the city of Tosali. There exists a lovely monastic establishment on the Surabha hill to the north of the city. This Surabhagiri has been identified with Dhauli or with one of its adjoining hills.[9] There exist the foundations of ancient rock monasteries and caves dating back to the Maurya period. They are three to the west of the hillock having Aśokan inscription,[10] three on the hillock containing the modern shrine and as many as twenty two in the middle range. The Nagarjunikonda inscription[11] refers to Tosali as a stronghold of Thera school. But later on it became a famous centre of Mahāyānism. It was here that the monk, Sarvagāmin lived who was famous for his *yoga* philosophy.[12]

A small scale excavation was conducted at Lalitgiri in the Cuttack district, by Prof, K.S. Behera in the year 1977.[13] He brought to light some architectural remains on the eastern slope, which seems to be a monastic complex. He also found a Gupta gold coin from this mound.[14] The extensive ruins of Laṇḍā hill which was taken up for excavation by the Archaeological Survey of India revealed a monastic complex there. The history of the place goes to 2nd, 3rd century A.D. on the basis of an inscription of early Brāhmī script found from here and the collection of red polished wares in the shape

of sprinklers of various types.[15] This monastic complex was double-storied comprising five cells on each side and open court yard in the middle.

Ratnagiri is situated about 39 miles away from Cuttack on the Asia range. Here a large scale excavation was conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India under Dr. Debala Mitra.[16] The complex known as Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra, as is evident from the inscribed sealings[17], was revealed by the excavation. The excavation also made us sure that a vast compound of double-storied structure was built round a paved monastic quadrangle. Two other monasteries adjoining the mahāvihāra were also denuded by the excavation. It was once a flourishing centre of Buddhist culture. This monastery dates back at least to the period of the Guptas.[18] Towards the end of the life of King Buddhapakṣa a *vihāra* called Ratnagiri was built in the east of the kingdom of Oḍivisa.[19] There lived five hundred monks in this *vihāra*.[20]

Bhorasaila, a famous Buddhist monastery developed by the 4th century A.D.[21] This has been identified with a remarkable group of low hills known as Vindhyeśvari, Baruṇei, Arāgaḍa and Bhoraśaila on the bank of Dayā river. The caves in the Baruṇei hill contain fourteen small epigraphs four of which are written in the characters of the Gupta period. Here the famous dialectician Dignāga and his followers resided during the 5th century A.D.[22]

The village Gaṇiāpallī near the confluence of Aṅg and Magar rivers in Bargarh sub-division of the Sambalpur district, revealed in the course of excavation, remnants of a monastery.[23] It was a multi-storied structure made of well-burnt bricks. There were cells and chambers of the Bhikhsus and mendicants, similar to that of Nalanda.[24] Some scholars believe that the plan and design of the monastery may have been based on the famous monastery of the philosopher Nāgārjuna, located in *Po-lo-mo-lo-kili* or Parimalagiri identified with Gandhamardanagiri.[25] It is located at a distance of 45 kms to the north of Gaṇiāpallī as referred to by Huen-tsang.[26] On the basis of the style of the images and other materials this monastery can bc dated to the Gupta period.

Udayagiri which is the eastern most peak of the Asia range is also under excavation by the Archaeological Survey of India, and has revealed the remains of a monastic complex.[27] This monastic complex consisted of cells for the inmates of the monastery, open court-yard, verandah and a central

shrine chamber with the monastery. The door jambs were highly stylistic and decorated by carvings of *kinnaras*, creepers, Nāgas and Nāginīs. This is a specimen of excellent workmanship of the Buddhist artists. This monastic complex is the only one of its kind discovered in Orissa which has been well planned and aesthetically designed. The seals discovered from this monastic complex were inscribed and read, *Śrī-Mādhavapura-Mahāvihāra-Ārya-Bhikṣu-Saṅghasya*[28]

The above study declares that the flourishing conditions of the monastic establishments in various parts of Orissa in ancient times were testified from literary and archaeological sources. Further, Orissa was a cradle land of Buddhism as is evident from the excavations conducted at Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Gaṇiāpallī and Khiching. Orissa may be considered as one of the most important places such as Nalanda, Sarnath, Amaravati or Sanchi where the monasteries in the early Christian era were developed.

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12

TORAṆA IN ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF ORISSA

GYANENDRA NATH SRIVASTAVA

Toraṇa, an entrance archway (Sanskrit-*tor*, 'a pass')[1] is regarded as a subservient part (*anukāya aṅga*) in ancient Indian temple architecture. It is referred to in epics like *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as an ornament to the palace and assembly hall (*sabhā*) respectively.[2] Principles are laid down for its construction in the texts dealing with *vāstu-śilpa* as a whole subject or containing sporadic references, viz., *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Matsya Purāṇa *Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Mānasāra, Aṁsumadbheda* of Kāśyapa, *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhara* and *Bhuvana-Pradīpa.* According to the *Arthaśāstra*, the gateways of different forms were to adorn the entrance to a city or a palace. Those on the city gates were called *Gopurams* and those forming the entrance to a house were called *toraṇas.*[3] In the *Mānasāra, toraṇa* is prescribed as to adorn the thrones[4] of deities and kings and also the entrance of houses.[5]

We have references to varieties of *toraṇas*, such as, *patra-toraṇa, puṣpa-toraṇa, citra-toraṇa, ratna-toraṇa, stambha-toraṇa, ḅhitti-toraṇa* and *makara-toraṇa.* Toraṇa, however, may be classified mainly in two categories, viz., *stambha-toraṇa* or free-standing *toraṇa* as found at Bharahut, Sanchi, Terahi, Bhubaneswar and Warangal etc. *Bhitti-toraṇas* are engaged or applied *toraṇas* used as an outer frame for doors and windows of temples in India. The other divisions such as *patra-toraṇa* etc are based on the motifs used in the decoration of a *toraṇa. Makaras* are also an essential decorative part of *toraṇa* since early times and thus have come to be known as *makara-toraṇa.*

Percy Brown has traced the origin of *toraṇa* from the *grāma-dvāra* of a Vedic village which later developed as a popular entrance or gateway of

Buddhist sanctuaries at Bharahut and Sanchi.[6] Percy Brown regarded the eastern *toraṇa-dvāra* of Bharahut stupa as the earliest *toraṇa* which was constructed during the Sunga period.[7] In Orissa, *toraṇa* arches as ornamental scheme are noticed in the rock-cut caves at Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneswar which are of about the same period or a century later. The notable caves are Rāṇi-gumphā, Gaṇeśa-gumphā, Jaya-Vijaya-gumphā and Ananta-gumphā. The semi-circular arches, crowned with auspicious Jain symbols, mounted upon flat pilasters, are relieved, framing the cell doors. Pilasters are crowned by animal figures, such as winged lions, bulls, horses, elephants etc. The *toraṇa* arches are carved with honey-suckle, lotus or creepers. In the Jaya-Vijaya and Gaṇeśa gumphā these motifs are depicted as issuing from *makara* mouth.

The *toraṇas* are not found in the subsequent period after the Udayagiri relief works and it is only about the 10th century A.D. when a free standing or *stambha-toraṇa* appears in front of Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar as a solitary example of its own kind. This free standing *toraṇa* consists of a semi-circular pediment mounted upon two huge but stunted pillars. The bases of the pillars are square (which is also prescribed in *Bhuvana-pradīpa*) and decorated with miniature *rekhā-muṇḍi* on three sides. The niches of *rekha-muṇḍis* are filled with female figures flanked by *jagrata* motifs on either side. *Gajakrānta* (lion) figures are placed on the top corners of the base. The pillar shafts are sixteen sided and built with four stone courses. The top course is relieved with a frieze of beaded festoon and tassels hanging from *Kīrttimukha* masks, the motif, repeated in Orissan temple for ornamentation and defined as *ālamba*. The pillars are crowned by *vedikā-āmalaka* and spreading lotus. The lotus petals are sketched in outline and only a few petals on the left side pillar are brought in relief which suggests that the carvings have been left incomplete here. Projected *makara-śīrṣas* with upraised snouts are placed above the capital on sides facing outwardly. The decoration of arch on each side is identical and consists of rosettes, scrolls, *caitya* medallion and reclining females. Each *caitya* medallion is filled with a human face except one which contains a dove. Above the wings of the side *caitya* medallion, is seated an ascetic with a *yoga-paṭṭa* tied around his knees. Monkeys and birds holding beaded strings in their beaks are carved in lower course. The arch has a ridge on top and surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The top surface of the arch is

carved with an exquisite arabesque. Built in transverse section, the *toraṇa* is skilfully designed and suits its environs.

On the basis of some remains found during excavation near Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, the late Prof. K.C. Panigrahi tried to prove the pre-existence of such *toraṇas* in front of earlier temples which are no longer in existence now. According to him, the *toraṇa* was the model for Mukteśvara[8], while searching models for repertory we may also look for the existing *toraṇas* of rock-cut caves at Udayagiri hills. The Mukteśvara toraṇa (semi-circular) arch crowned with a *kalaśa* pinnacle has much resemblance with the semi-circular pediments relieved over the cell-doors at Udayagiri hills. The *nandipada* and *śrīvatsa* symbols, crowning these arches are replaced by *kalaśa* at Mukteśvara. The multi-faced shafts of varandah pillars at Udayagiri might have directed the idea of sixteen sided shafts at Mukteśvara. Though represented in relief the Udayagiri *toraṇa* may be regarded as the forerunners of *toraṇa* conception which culminated in the Mukteśvara *toraṇa*.

However, the tradition of free-standing *toraṇa* was not followed further in Orissan temples. Though applied *toraṇas* or *bhitti-toraṇas* framing doors and windows are represented on a few temples of 13th century A.D., viz., the Sun temple at Koṇarak, Gaṅgeśvarī temple at Bayālisabāṭi (Cuttack district), Trilocaneśvara temple at Sadansā (Cuttack district), Mādhaveśvara temple at Mādhava (Cuttack district), *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* and other *maṇḍapas* inside the Liṅgarāja temple, Yameśvara temple at Bhubaneswar and Tārakeśvara temple at Ganeswarpur (Puri district). Toraṇas of Gaṅgeśvarī temple and those inside the Liṅgarāja temple complex are the only better preserved specimens, whereas in the others, only traces of pillars or pilasters, which had been mounted with multifoiled arch, have survived. The arched entrance of Gaṅgeśvarī temple furnishes the details of *toraṇa* style popular during 13th century A.D. The front entrance of the *Jagamohana* and projected windows on sides are framed with trefoiled and pentafoiled arches respectively. The pillars of main arch have been conceived as the typical *bāḍa* of Orissan temples. The pillars consist of a *pābhāga* with five mouldings and sixteen sided shaft (as in the Mukteśvara) divided into two compartments by a horizontal ridge and also relieved with scroll work. The *ālamba* motif of Mukteśvara, formed by beaded festoons and tassels dripping from *Kīrttimukhas* remained the ornamentation of shaft below capital. The capital

consists of two mouldings. The pentafoil arch is decorated with scroll-work and has recessed facets. At the bases of major facet is a guardian figure on each side while on the outside are projecting *makaras*. The top centre is carved with a *kīrttimukha*. The cusped arch is built in the same device as is found in the temple of Mukteśvara. However, the semi-circular arch is transformed in multifoiled arch.

The present *bhoga-maṇḍapa* in the Liṅgarāja temple was a detached pillared *maṇḍapa* earlier with five openings on each side.[9] It was built during 13th century in order to serve the purpose of *nāṭa-maṇḍapa*[10] and walled up subsequently to strengthen the structure for supporting the roof. Its centre openings on each side are spanned as five cusped arch, of which western facing arch is not visible now due to subsequent insertion of present *nāṭamaṇḍapa*. All the existing *toraṇas* of this *maṇḍapa* are identical in execution and whatever differences are noticed, are due to repairs. The pilasters supporting the arch are found from bottom (i.e., base mouldings) to capital portion and projected from the wall surface. The pilasters which display divisions of full fledged *pañcāṅga bāḍa*, consist of a *pābhāga* of five mouldings, a shaft divided into two compartments by a *bandhana* of three mouldings and a capital of three mouldings. Above the capital the typical varanda mouldings, continue up to the roof, surmounted by *piḍha-muṇḍi*. Sculptured figures of *nāyikās* standing in different poses along with rosettes and scrolls are used for the ornamentation of *pābhāga* portion. The lower compartment of shaft was also adorned with high and boldly relieved sculptures. They are mostly worn out now excepting a headless male figure on the left side pilaster of the front arch and a female on the right side pilaster of the northern arch. The lower part of the upper compartment of the shaft was also decorated with sculptures, relatively small in dimension, which are also now worn out fully. The *ālamba* motif has occupied its previous place in the shaft. *Makaras* projected on the sides are more stylized with prolonged snouts. The arch springs along the varanda mouldings. The span of entrance is 3.5 metres wide and huge blocks of stones are used as corbelled courses of arch. The thick varanda moulding had been raised not only to support the roof but also to balance the huge corbelled stone of arch by its heavy weight. Thus putting the varanda over pilaster capital was more of a constructional requirement than that of evolution of style. The face of arch is not very

ornate; it tends to move towards further degeneration. Inside the Liṅgarāja complex there is a pillared *maṇḍapa* which is a later addition to the Gaṇeśa temple with *toraṇa* arches on three sides. These *toraṇas* are also of same style added with ornamentation of pilaster by a band of musicians and dancers, a frieze of elephants and scrolls arranged between the vertical beaded lines.

The square pillar bases and *vedikā-āmalaka* of Muktеśvara type somewhat revived in *toraṇa* entrances of some later structures inside the Liṅgarāja complex itself. These *toraṇas* are represented by a free standing *maṇḍapa* erected on a high platform to the south of *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, another *maṇḍapa* on the north-western side of the main temple and also found in the entrances through the kitchen vestibule. In these representations, though the cusped arch (the arches of kitchen are in radial pattern and not the corbelled one) and round pilasters continued as in the *bhoga-maṇḍapa*, the bases of pilasters are square and relieved with miniature flat *rekhā* shrine ; and a *vedikā-āmalaka* has also been put in the capital, all in the likeness of the Muktеśvara *toraṇa*. Applied *toraṇas* are also noticed in the entrances of later temples (14th-16th century) on the Kapilas hill in the district of Dhenkanal, Palia in the district of Balasore and Haripur in the Mayurbhanj district, the last mentioned one has been built in the radial arch pattern.

Free standing *toraṇas* erected upon a platform are also used for swings during *Dola-yātrā* festival. These arched frames for swing are known as *dola-maṇḍapa* or *dola-vedi*, noticed in the Jagannath temple compound at Puri, near the Vaitāl deul and near the northern gate of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. These are also seen in villages and towns of Orissa. In a sculptural representation from Konarak, the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I has been shown swinging in such a swing under a trefoiled arch.[11] On the analogy of *dola-maṇḍapa, toraṇas*, Donaldson has mistaken the Muktеśvara *toraṇa* meant for swinging ceremony of the presiding deity.[12] But it is evident from its position that the Muktеśvara *toraṇa* was a subservient part (*aṅkāya-aṅga*) of the temple along with its compound wall. As confirmed from the local priests, swinging ceremony was never celebrated here in the known past. *Dola-yātrā* is rather a part of Vaiṣṇava tradition and was never popular in the Śiva temples. It was introduced in the Liṅgarāja temple at a very late date and also observed irregularly. The *dola-maṇḍapas* at Bhubaneswar are also of very late period.

Thus, it is evident that *toraṇa* appears in Orissan art and architecture in three different periods in its different styles and forms, viz., *bhitti-toraṇa* and *stambha-toraṇa*. In the *bhitti toraṇa* form it is used as a decorative motif from very inception of art in Orissa. In these representations we also notice the appearance of *makara-toraṇa* for the first time.[13] The *bhitti-toraṇa* again appeared with the cusped design of arch in the temples of 13th century in Orissa.

But when we look to the other parts of India, it is also true that after the 1st-2nd centuries of the Christian era, *toraṇas* are found to be almost absent from structural edifices. It again appears in Pratihāra period in Central India and during the Pallava reign in South India. It regained its popularity during 10th century and onwards in Central India, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Kashmir as well as in South India and the Deccan, i.e., of the period of the Mukteśvara temple. Thus the Mukteśvara *toraṇa* may also be a result of a countrywide *toraṇa* movement in its own line.

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13

AVALOKITEŚVARA IN THE ART OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS

J.K. SAHU

The Pāla kingdom in Bengal and the Bhauma-Kara kingdom in Orissa were established about the middle of 8th century A.D., following the anarchy caused by the invasion of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. The early rulers of both the dynasties were devoted Buddhists (*Paramasaugata*) and at the same time they patronised Brahmanic religion. Consequently, almost a similar type of cultural development took place in Bengal and Orissa during this period. The discovery of a large number of cult images having almost the same iconographic characteristics and ascribed to the Pāla-Bhauma epoch lends support to this view. An attempt is made here to study the image of Avalokiteśvara in Orissa under the Bhauma rule as contemporary to the Pāla art in Bengal.

The most popular form of Avalokiteśvara icon found in Orissa is grouped under the variety of *Khasarpaṇa* which is named after a village in the ancient Khāḍi-*maṇḍala*, the modern 24 Parganas in West Bengal. This image is depicted either in standing pose or seated in the *Lalitāsana* on a double petaled lotus (*Viśva-Padma*) holding a fully blossomed lotus flower by its stalk in his left hand, the right one being in *varada* pose. He is almost invariably accompanied by Tara, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭi and Hayagrīva. The five Dhyānī Buddhas are often carved on the *Prabhāvalī* with Amitābha placed in the centre. A beautiful specimen of Avalokiteśvara belonging to the early Pāla period is seen in the Stuart Bridge collection preserved in the British Museum. Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara icons, ascribed to the Bhauma

period, have been discovered in ancient Buddhist centres of Orissa, such as Udayagiri, Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri, Solanapur, Khadipada, Baud etc. On the top of the Udayagiri hill, a colossal image of this deity (7'.10" X 2'.10" in size) is lying broken. In 1928, R.P. Chanda had seen it in good condition, standing on the mound dominating the landscape[2]. It is flanked by Bhṛkuṭi on the right and Hayagrīva and Sudhanakumāra on the left. The effigy on Amitābha is prominent on its head dress. The well-known Buddhist formulae, "*ye dharmā hetu prabhavā*"... is incised on the image in the script of 8th century A.D.

On the mount of Lalitgiri, three standing images of Avalokiteśvara are still found. One of them is attached on the right side of a doorway of a modern structure on the Laṇḍā hillock with four armed Tārā on the left. The second is now standing near the Basuli temple between the Laṇḍā and the Pārābhāḍi hillocks[3] and the third is seen in the ruins of Hātikhāl along with half a dozen Buddhist images standing in a row. All these images present synthesis of divine grace and physical beauty.

A unique specimen of two armed standing Avalokiteśvara was acquired by R.P. Chanda from Kendrapara and is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This deity exhibits *varada* attitude in his right hand and the lotus flower held in the left hand, superimposed by a *vajra* for which it is called *Vajrapāṇi*.[4]

In the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two interesting images of standing Avalokiteśvara have been preserved. One of them is headless and the other is footless. The first is made of bluish chlorite and measures 2.5' X 4.5' whereas the second is made of red sand stone and measures 3.5' X 6.5'. Although mutilated, they present artistic excellence of the Bhauma period.

An image of two armed standing Avalokiteśvara, discovered at Khadipada and now preserved in Orissa State Museum, bears an important inscription which states that it was installed by *Paramaguru* Rāhularuci during the reign of the Bhauma king Śubhākaradeva[5]. The image, however, lacks in artistic grace possessed by its prototypes. The standing Avalokiteśvara, found now at Solanapura, also betrays inferior type of art and may be assigned to a decaying period.

Among the seated *Khasarpaṇa* icons, mention may be made (1) of an image acquired from Kendrapara (Cuttack district), and now preserved in the

Indian Museum, Calcutta, (2) the one discovered at Baneswaranasi near Narasimhapur (Cuttack district), (3) the one acquired from Chauduar (Cuttack district) and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (4) the inscribed one found in the temple of Lakṣmī-Narasiṁha at Amareswargarh (Puri district), (5) the one found under a banyan tree, near Tulsipur (Cuttack district), (6) the one found in the premises of Fakir Mohan College, (Balasore district) and (7) the one discovered by N.N. Vasu at Ranibandha (Mayurbhanj district)[6]. All these images are depicted in *ardha-paryaṅka* pose on a *viśva-padma* holding the lotus stalk in the left hand and bestowing boon by the right. The face lit with a smile reveals an expression of compassion. The five Dhyani Buddhas are seen in the *prabhāvali.* The Kendrapara image in *tribhaṅga* pose inclining its trunk towards the left and bending the head a little to the right is a wonderful piece of art. The Baneswarnasi image sits erect. The Chauduar image is in *lalita* pose bending a little to the right. It has a beautiful *toraṇa* in trifoil arch. The Tulsipur image is now mutilated and defaced. The Balasore image is also mutilated but the expression of its slim trunk and round face is graceful. Both the hands of the Mayurbhanj image have also been mutilated although in spite of this it represents a beautiful art specimen of the deity.

A number of Avalokiteśvara image of *Jaṭāmukuṭa* variety ascribed to the Bhauma period have been discovered. One such image is now found in the Solapuama temple situated south-west of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and another image is now standing not far from that place. Both these images had been brought by John Beams from the Udayagiri hill. Images of this variety have also been discovered at Ayodhya in Balasore district, Mudugala in the Prachi valley in Puri district and Baniasahi of Cuttack district. Jaṭāmukuṭa Avalokiteśvara is generally represented as standing on a *viśya-padma* with four arms, the two right hands showing the rosary and *varada* pose and the two left hands holding the lotus and water-pot. It is flanked by Tārā and Hayagrīva and bears on its head the miniature figure of Amitābha[7]. The image near the Solapuama temple has on the top portion of the slab, the figures of seven Mānuṣi Buddhas. On the back of the image there is a long inscription of 25 lines assigned to about 9th century. The Ayodhya image is heavily decked with necklaces and a bejewelled tiara on which the effigy of Amitābha is placed. The Mudugala image, chiselled out of black chlorite stone, has been preserved in good condition in a temple where he is

worshipped by the local people as the sage Mudgala of Puranic fame. It carries rosary in the upper right hand and a conch-shell in the upper left while the lower two hands rest on the head of Tārā and Sudhanakumāra. In this respect, it is a unique image and may be classified as Śaṅkhapāṇi variety. The Baṇiāsāhi image closely resembles to that of the Solapuama temple in workmanship.

A unique variety of sitting image of two-armed Avalokiteśvara acquired from Ratnagiri is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The deity sits on *Ardhaparyaṅka* pose on a lotus supported by two couchant lions who appear to be roaring and on the left of it is a lotus with long stalk found rising from the ground. It wears a tiger skin and its body is entwined by serpents. This image may be taken as a variety of Siṁhanada Avalokiteśvara. A specimen of this variety is also found in the village Solanapura near Jajpur in the Cuttack district. Another image of Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara is now worshipped by the people of Purukuṭiā near Baneswarnasi as goddess Suṇāisuṇi.

We made here a rapid survey of different varieties of Avalokiteśvara image of Orissa under the Bhauma-Karas. It is needless to say that they closely resemble their prototypes found in Bengal under the Pālas. A careful analysis of the iconographical characteristics of these images reveal that they had a great similarity with Brahmanical cult icons, such as Viṣṇu and Śiva. It was the time when the barriers between different religious sects were coming down fast. As noted above, the Pālas and the Bhaumas were devoted Buddhists and at the same they patronised Brahmanic religion. Buddhism in Eastern India during the Pāla-Bhauma period exhibits the new tendency of eclecticism which is strikingly illustrated in the images of Avalokiteśvara described above.

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14

SOME NOTABLE EARLY ŚAIVA TEMPLES OF GANJAM

A.K. RATH

Temples are abodes of gods and goddesses who are the spirits immanent in the universe. Therefore, temples are known by such names as *devālaya*, *Śivālaya*, and *devāyatanas*. As religious institutions and places of worship temples in our country are of great antiquity and have become centres of all religio-social activities in all ages. They are a *tīrtha*, a source of release in a concrete, tangible form created by the human mind. As structures enshrining gods and goddesses or some other objects of veneration, circumbulation (*pradakṣiṇa*), adoration and worship (*pūjā*), temples have had a varied growth in different parts of our country, according to the local needs and credal requirements and of course subject to the interaction or exchange of thoughts and ideas. Building a temple is regarded as an act of pious dedication which brings endless merit to the builders and vicariously to the devotees who visit the temple and to their relations. People perform various religious rites and rituals in the temples with the belief that they would be nearer to god, attain spiritual perfection and material prosperity.

In the pre-Christian centuries and beginning of the Christian era, offerings on an altar was a very common means of worship of certain powers representing natural forces. The absence of any stable religious edifice in those times was due to a particular character of the belief of the people. But in course of time a desire for something more concrete and positive than mere spiritual essence was felt. There was also the material interpretation of the religious ideal. Gods and goddesses were deified. People began to think that these impersonal powers must seek an embodiment and thus worship began

to assume a visible form and images of gods and goddesses and divinities were executed.

Along with the images the need of temple was greatly felt. At first temples were of very impermanent nature. They were built of materials like reed, wood and bamboo which had but little scope for proper application of principles of architecture as an art, either in respect or in form or in that of composition. However, with the revival of Brahmanism in the Gupta age there was a considerable development of iconography and architecture. A feeling to install an image at a permanent place which must provide facilities for worship impelled the people to erect temples in permanent materials, especially brick and dressed stone. The construction of structural temples of varieties and forms with many details began to be built all over the country. With the passage of time the temples assumed various styles and patterns, forms and layouts on the basis of the objects of the variation installed in them and the method adopted for their worship. The elaboration of the temple structure followed the firm establishment of image of worship and the accompanying development of the ritual, which took time to crystallise.

In Orissa with the patronage of Śaivism by the early Eastern Gaṅgas, the Śailodbhavas, some Bhauma-Kara rulers, the Somavaṁśis and the Imperial Gaṅgas there started architectural activities of considerable importance. During this rule a number of Śaiva temples were built in Orissa, some of which are found in the Ganjam district representing the early phase of Orissan temple architecture—the *Rekhā-deula* and *Piḍha-deula*. The sanctum with the curvilinear *śikhara* (*rekhā*) is called the *rekhā-deula* and the assembly hall or the *jagamohana* for the devotees with a pyramidal roof of *piḍhas* (tiers) is known as *piḍha-deula*. The shrine room or the *vimāna* or *deula* for the chief deity and the *jagamohana* for devotees form the component parts of a single architectural scheme on one integral plan and are connected internally. The most notable Śaiva temples of the Ganjam district representing the early phase of Orissan temple architecture are the Gokarṇeśvara on the Mahendragiri, the Mukteśvara at Kṛṣṇagiri, the Baragaon Śaiva temples, the Mahāliṅgeśvara at Jilluṇḍi near Kodalā and the Baṭeśvara near Palur.

The Gokarṇeśvara temple :

The Gokarṇeśvara temple stands on the summit of the Mahendragiri, an outlying spun of the picturesque Eastern Ghats in the Parlakhemundi sub-

division of the Ganjam district. Rivers of Puranic fame like Ikṣulā, Ṛṣikulyā, Vanjulā, Mahendratanayā and Muli originate from Mahendragiri which was a principal political, religious and cultural centre of several ruling dynasties such as the Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Māṭharas, the Śailodbhavas, the early Gaṅgas, the Kādambas, the imperial Gaṅgas and the Colas. In the Purāṇas[1] Mahendragiri is said to be one of the *kula parvatas* or *kulācalas* or *kulagiris* and a place suitable for performance of *pitṛ-śrāddha*. One who performed *śrāddha* and offered *piṇḍa* here for the liberation of the departed fore-fathers and to release their spirit from the horrors of hell[2] became free from debt due to *pitṛs* and attained heavenly bliss.[3] Horse sacrifices were performed on the summit of Mahendragiri.[4]

The *Sāralā Mahābhārata*[5] gives an interesting account on the origin of God Gokarṇeśvara on the mount Mahendra. It states that the Pāṇḍavas during their exile had their sojourn at the Mahendra mountain. During their stay there Arjuna once sent an arrow aiming at a cow grazing at the foot of the hill which appeared to him like a rhinoceros from a distance. When he knew his mistake it was too late and the cow was dead. He repented for his sinful act, for which he and his brothers prayed lord Kṛṣṇa to forgive them. Pleased with their prayer Kṛṣṇa invited all the gods to a *Deva-sabhā* (meeting of the gods) on the mount Mahendra. The gods forgave the Pāṇḍavas. Śiva-liṅgams sprang up from the places where the portions of the cow's corpse had fallen The *liṅgam* which arose from the ear of the cow was worshipped by the Pāṇḍavas as Gokarṇeśvara. Since then Gokarṇeśvara on mount Mahendra became famous and was worshipped by the Śavaras and the Pulindas, the hill tribes of Kaliṅga. In course of time Gokarṇeśvara became the tutelary deity of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara who had started their rule in c. 498 A.D. In the Ponnuturu plates[6] of the Eastern Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman, of the Gaṅga era 64(c. 562 A.D.) we find for the first time reference to lord Gokarṇeśvara as *Śaśāṅka-śekhara*, the creator, the preserver and the destroyer of the universe. The Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman III in his Chicacole plates of the Gaṅga year 128(c. 626 A.D.)[7] has prayed Gokarṇeśvara as follows :

Mahendr-ācal-āmala-śikhara-pratiṣṭhitasya sa-car-ācara-guroḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya Bhagavata-Gokarṇa-svāminas-caraṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇamāt....."

From the Vizagapatnam plates of the Śaka year 1040 (1118 A.D.)[8] and the Korni plates[9] of the imperial Gaṅga king king Anantavaman Coḍagaṅgadeva(1077-1147 A.D.), it is known how Kāmārṇava by the grace of God Gokarṇeśvara defeated Savarāditya (Balāditya), the tribal chief of the Mahendra region and obtained possession of the Kaliṅga country where he founded the rule of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. For five hundred years from Sāmantavarman till the reign of Madhukāmārṇava (Gaṅga era 526 or A.D. 1024) the Gaṅga inscriptions contain reference to all the Gaṅga kings offering prayer to Gokarṇeśvara.

The Gokarṇeśvara is the oldest Śaiva temple of Orissa, the earliest specimen of Orissan temple architecture. The temple is remarkable for five huge blocks of square size granite stones employed in it one over the other in such a fashion that it assumes the form of a *śikhara* temple. It is a square sanctum having a square *śikhara* which is formed by one small flat roof over a big flat roof. A big *āmalaka* adorns the top of the temple which is without a *kalaśa*. The temple has a narrow doorway. The walls have neither niches nor any sculpture. However, the projections contain some carvings in the form of straight lines. The squat tower has no conical decorations. Inside the temple is a Śiva-*lingam*. The height of the temple is about 8 metres. Crudely designed, the Gokarṇeśvara temple is a development of the simple flat-roofed temple of the Gupta period.

On the right entrance of this temple there is an inscription[10] of the Śaka year 1045 (A.D. 1123) of the imperial Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅgadeva which mentions God Gokarṇeśvara as Mahendreśvara. On a slab at the left entrance of this temple there is an inscription in the Telugu script[11] dated in the Śaka year 1055 (A.D. 1133) issued by Coḍagaṅgadeva which records the gift of a perpetual lamp to Gokarṇeśvara by a resident of Arsavilli.

On architectural considerations the Gokarṇeśvara temple may be assigned to the middle of the 6th century A.D., the period of transition from the Guptas to the post-Gupta period. It has on it the influence of the Gupta temple architecture. It serves as a base for the study of temples of the 7th century A.D. in Orissa. The Gokarṇeśvara temple was probably constructed by the Eastern Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman sometime before 562 A.D., the date of his Ponnuturu plates of the Ganga year 64 in which he has paid obeisance to Gokarṇeśvara.

***The Mukteśvara temple* :**

The Mukteśvara temple is situated at the foot of Kṛṣṇagiri at a distance of about 18 kms from Khallikote in the Chatrapur subdivision of the Ganjam district. Kṛṣṇagiri was a famous seat of Śaivism under the patronage of the Śailodbhavas (c. A.D. 600-750)[12]. The Mukteśvara temple is short in stature. It has a single cell consisting of a square sanctum with curvilinear tower (*rekhā-deula*) which represents the early stage of the development of the Orissan temple architecture. Having no *piṣtha* it starts straight from the ground level. It has no porch or *Jagamohana* attached to it. The Mukteśvara is a *śikhara* temple.

Some beautiful sculptures adorn the niches in the walls of this temple such as Umā-Maheśvara and Kārttikeya. The iconographic features of the image of Umā-Maheśvara belong to the post-Gupta period and in keeping with the description of Śiva and Pārvatī given in the invocatory verses of the Śailodbhava epigraphs.[13] Therefore, it has been assigned to the early 7th century A.D. It is the earliest of the Umā-Maheśvara images so far found in Orissa. Śiva is found here in *Lalitāsana* pose on a petalled lotus below which is seen his vehicle Nandin. Śiva's right leg is placed on the back of Nandin. The goddess Umā is seated on the left thigh of Śiva. Her right hand encircling the neck of Śiva is put on his right shoulder. Her left hand is placed on her left thigh. Her right leg being bent is kept on the lotus seat and her left leg is hanging below it. God Śiva has *jaṭā-mukuṭa* on his head. He has four arms. The upper right hand holds *japamālā* (*rudrākṣa*), his lower right hand shows the *varada*. His upper left hand holds the trident. Śiva is found embracing Umā with his left hand.

The Umā-Maheśvara image of Kṛṣṇagiri is contemporaneous to the Umā-Maheśvara images of Aihole[14] and the Śatrughneśvara and Svarnajāleśvara temples of Bhubaneswar.[15] Iconographically, they are similar to each other.

The image of Kārttikeya is of the 10th century A.D. which is a later addition to the temple. On the front facade of the temple there is a Lakulīśa image holding a *lakuṭa* or a club and seated in *yogāsana* and showing *dharma-cakra-pravarttana-mudrā* which indicates that like the Buddha who first turned the wheel of law, he was also the first to give a start to the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism.

A *lingam* of black chlorite stone, about four feet high, is found in the temple. It is known as *Hāṇḍiuguḍā Linga*. On the door jamb of the temple there is an inscription of Coḍagaṅga of the Gaṅga dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1064 (A.D. 1142) which contains 7 lines of writings in two Sanskrit verses in *Sragdharā* metre. The inscription records the grant of a perpetual lamp to the Mukteśvara temple by Pracārī Mahādevī, one of the queens of Coḍagaṅgadeva. Another inscription near the door jamb belongs to the reign of Kāmārṇava (A.D. 1147-56). These inscriptions are, however, later additions to the temple made by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara after their occupation of Utkala in about 1110 A.D. by Coḍagaṅga. On stylistic consideration the Mukteśvara temple may be assigned to the first half of the 7th century A.D.

The Mahāliṅgeśvara Temple :

The Mahāliṅgeśvara temple is situated at the foot of the Jilluṇḍi hill in the ex-zamindari of Āthagaḍa at a distance of about 12 kms from Kodala in the Ganjam district. It has all the main features of a Śikhara temple, viz., a *vimāna*, a *śikhara* and a *jagamohana* revealing its architectural affinities with the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar of about the middle of the 7th century A.D.[18] It also bears resemblance with the ruined Śiva temple at Puñjiāmā near Banpur in the Puri district where the capital of the Śailodbhavas was located.[19]

The *pāga* or the pilasters are not fully developed in the Mahāliṅgeśvara temple. They appear more as shallow buttresses than as the pilasters of the later periods. The crowning members of the *śikhara* are an *āmalaka*, a *kalaśa* and a *liṅgam*. We do not find an *āyudha* here as indicated in the later temples. At the top of the front facade there is an image of Lakuliśa the deified teacher and the founder of the Pāśupata sect.[20] In the niches are found the sculptures of Umā-Maheśvara and Kārttikeya.

In front of the temple there is a sixteen pillared *maṇḍapa* at the base of which are found two images seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*, one above the other, with folded hands. The upper statue is built of sand stone and the lower one is that of white marble. Each of the statues holds a sword and in the left hand and a crown on the head, which indicates that they are royal figures. On the pedestal of the lower statue there is an inscription in early Oriya characters of the 11th century A.D. which runs as follows :

E putuli Parvata Tapi Mo(Ma)hāpātra, which means that the name of the statue is Parvata Tapi Mahāpātra who was the progenitor of the Athagada royal family. He is identified with *Parvata Vyaghra* Tapi Mahāpātra who ruled over Athagada from 989 to 1047 A.D. The upper statue is that of his father named Paṇḍu Tapasvī or Paṇḍu Tapi who was a scion of the Bāghela dynasty and hailed from Rewa.[21]

The Mahāliṅgeśvara temple may be assigned to the middle of the 7th century A.D. which was constructed under the patronage of the Śailodbhava rulers. The sixteen pillared *maṇḍapa* also called the *Mukti-maṇḍapa*, the statues and the Oriya inscription are later additions to the temple made by Vyaghra Tapi Mahāpātra before 1047 A.D., the last year of his rule.

The Baragaon Śaiva Temples :

At Baragaon, about 10 kms to the east of Bhanjanagar, there are five Śiva temples along the river Baḍanai. Built of stone, these Śiva temples are highly sculptured. But they are in a badly damaged condition. One of these has an inscription[22] at the doorway which is completely damaged. The largest of these Śiva temples is known as the Dakṣineśvara temple. Its *Bāḍa* is the wall portion of the temple below the curvilinear spire, consisting of *pābhāga*, *jaṅghā*, *Bandhana* and *Varanda*, is a simple *tri-ratha* plan with the added thin stambha (pillar, pilaster) placed next to the *rāhā* rather than at the corners. The *tri-ratha* wall has a familiar treatment of the niches. There is a flat decorated pilaster (*pāga*) rising out of a *Purṇa-ghaṭa* (jar overflowing with foliage or vase of abundance) and adorning the shaft with scroll work. It extends all the way up to *vandhana* (series of horizontal mouldings along the wall). Base mouldings are in four levels. Kārttikeya in his *Pārśva-devatā* niche is seated astride his mount peacock with his hair in the *śikhaṇḍaka* style and with mongoose and snake below. There is a recessed *Bandhana* with a whole series of animals carved within it and the corners have seated lions. One of the niches has an image of Umā-Maheśvara.[23]

The *Gaṇḍi* (curvilinear spire above the *Bāḍa*) is *pañca-ratha* in design with the *Kanika* (corner ventricle segment from the base of the *Bāḍa* to the top of the *Gaṇḍi*) being divided by the *āmalaka* into five *Bhūmis* or five units of five horizontal levels of the spire or the *Gaṇḍi*. The recessed chase (*anuraha*) between the *kanika* or *koniha* and *anartha* (intermediate between the *kanika* and *rāhā*) has decorative designs, alternating with female figures

on the first two *Bhūmi* divisions, rather than miniature shrine motifs. The *Raha* (central vertical projection on the temple) is *tri-ratha* in plan, the corner divisions having *Bhūmi-amalas* aligned with those of the *kanika*, thus continuing the design of the truncated *Rekhā* framing the *Pārśva-devatā* niche of the *Bāḍa*. The *Anartha-pāgas* are decorated with the triple *caitya* motif like those of the temples of the Śailodbhava period.[24] Built of plain undecorated blocks the *mukhaśālā* or the *jagamohana* has a *piḍha* or pyramidal roof. The *caitya* arches, the medallions, number of niches in the outer walls, the undeveloped pilasters, the sunken panels marking transition between the perpendicular portions and curvilinear towers and the half-*āmalakas*, the standard *pañcaratha* plan for the *gaṇḍi* including recessed *anurāhā* of the Dakṣineśvara temple, all show remarkable affinities with the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, the Siṁhanātha temple on a rocky island on the river Mahānadī near Gopinathpur between Baideśvara and Baramba in the Cuttack district, with the Svapneśvara temple at Kualo on the bank of the river Brāhmaṇī near Talcher in the Dhenkanal district, and with the Baṭeśvara temple near Humma in the Ganjam district.

The Baṭeśvara Temple :

The Baṭeśvara temple[25] is situated on the sea-shore, about eight and half kms from Humma. It is also quite close to Palur which was a famous port in ancient times along the Bay of Bengal since the days of Ptolemy who mentions it as Poloura.[26] It was through Palur that the merchants of Kaliṅga used to visit Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Sri Lanka and other islands of South East Asia for trade and commerce since 3rd century B.C.

Facing to the west, the Baṭeśvara temple consists of a *vimāna* or *deula* for the chief deity and a *jagamohana* or an assembly hall for the devotees. The *vimāna* or the sanctum is cruciform in plan. Its projecting pilasters (*pāga*) are not fully developed. Being a *tri-ratha* type of temple it has a central pilaster or *rāhā-pāga* and two corner pilasters on *kaniha-pāgas*. The niches (recesses) on the pilasters are buried in sand except one on the northern side which contains a Hara-Pārvatī image. On the door lintel of the shrine there is a Navagraha slab with images of nine planets and a Gaja-Lakṣmī image.

The curvilinear *śikhara* is separated from the *vimāna* by a sunken panel running round the perpendicular parallelopiped cube. In the corner of each of its facades half *āmalakas* occur in every three corners of stone. An *āmalaka*

and a *lingam* crown the *śikhara* of the temple. The *Jagamohana* is rectangular in shape. A *pidha* temple being surrounded by a pyramidal superstructure, the *jagamohana* is in a completely damaged condition. The pilasters set on the walls in front facade contain Nāga and Nāgi images.

The Baṭeśvara temple contains a number of finely carved images, one of which is a four-armed Gaṇeśa in a standing pose. A pungent root and a *japamālā* are found in his upper and lower right hands respectively. In his upper left hand an upraised *kuṭhāra* (axe) and in his lower left hand a cup of *modakas* (sweet-meat balls) are found. His mount, mouse is not shown below him.

Inside the *jagamohana* the image of Śiva, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa are found. The image of Śiva is standing on a lotus with his vehicle Nandin by his side. He holds a *triśula* (trident), a *japamālā*, a *damru* and a *vījapūraka*. The image of Kārttikeya is found sitting on a lotus with his vehicle the peacock. His left hand holds a long spear, while the right a *vījapūraka*. Unlike the previous one the Gaṇeśa image is found here with his mount mouse.

A beautifully carved image of Hara-Pārvatī on a lotus seat is found in one of the niches. They are seated side by side on the lotus seat below in which their respective mounts the lion and the bull are shown. Pārvatī is found seated on the left lap of Śiva. Her right hand encircling the neck of Śiva is put on his shoulders while her left hand holds a lotus. Her face is turned towards the God. She has pronounced bust and handsome hip. The jewels like *kuṇḍala*, necklace, anklets, *kaṅkaṇa*, rings, *kaṭimekhalā*, keeping in position the garment that descends down to the ankle are noticed in the body of the Goddess. There is a touch of softness and loveliness all through her body. The God Hara has four hands of which two hold a *japamālā* and a trident. Of the other two hands one is in *abhaya-mudrā*, the other one is probably embracing the Goddess. He has rhythmically arranged matted hair intertwined into a conical shape *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He is adorned with some ornaments. He has a thick chord across his chest representing the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). His legs are placed in *sukhāsana*, the left leg being bent and kept on the lotus seat and the right leg hanging below it. The legs of Pārvatī are also shown in a similar fashion.

An inscription[27] is found on the door lintel of the *jagamohana*. Its language appears to be Telugu. The inscription, which is in a completely

damaged condition, is of the early 11th century A.D. and is a later addition to the temple.

The architectural and sculptural features of the Baṭeśvara temple show that it belonged to the early decades of the 8th century A.D., i.e., to the transitory period between the Śailodbhava and Bhauma periods.

Thus the Ganjam district occupies a place of distinction in the history of early Orissan temple architecture. The early Śaiva temples of Ganjam form one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural group in Orissa and reveal a story of evolution from the 6th century A.D. In a broader Indian context they form part of North Indian style but with distinctive features they constitute a separate style called Kaliṅga style of architecture. The above temples serve as significant movements of the cultural heritage of Ganjam which admirably sums upon and represents the subtle values of the regional cultural tradition of south Orissa.

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15

THE ŚAVA-VĀHANA OF BHAIRAVA IN ORISSAN IMAGES—A ŚĀKTA/TANTRA CONCEPT*

THOMAS EUGENE DONALDSON

In the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana-parvan), Kṛṣṇa praises Rudra/Śiva in the following manner : "Brahmanas versed in the Vedas know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious ; and these two bodies again have many forms".[1] The *ugra* or terrifying form of Śiva is Bhairava, so called, according to Gopinatha Rao,[2] because he protects the universe (*bharaṇa*) and because he is terrific (*bhīṣaṇa*). He is also known as Kālabhairava for even Kāla (the god of death) trembles before him ; Āmardaka because he kills bad persons (*mardana*) and Pāpabhakṣaṇa because he swallows the sins of his *bhaktas* or devotees. No images of any other aspect of Śiva comprises as many contrasting iconographic types as Bhairava. He may be represented as an immobile pillar (Ekapāda) or in a frenzied dance (Vāmadeva) ; he may have a sinewy skeletal form (Atiriktāṅga) or a flabby belly ; he may be depicted as a boy or as a giant ; and he may have two arms or as many as thirty-two. In the Purāṇas and Tantric texts there are variant lists of eight Bhairavas, the most popular being that in the *Agni Purāṇa* (313.7-12)[3] where they are named Asitāṅga, Ruru, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Kapāla, Bhīṣaṇa and Saṁhāra. In numerous Āgamas and Yāmalas, such as the *Rudrayāmala*, the number is increased to sixty-four composed by eight groups of eight each with the leader of each group being one of the standard eight just mentioned. In the mythology of the death and dismemberment of Satī, from which the concept

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of the *Śakti-pīṭha* emerged, Śiva, assuming the forms of so many Bhairavas, settled in the vicinities where the severed parts of Satī's body fell to keep watch over them. Invariably, then, an image of *Bhairava* is found near or within a Śakti compound and numerous scholars consider them to be the consorts or guardians of the sixty-four *yoginīs* mentioned in Tantric texts.[4] In some texts, such as the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* (5.134 ; 6.99-102)[5], the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (67.12-15)[6] and the *Śrī Matottara Tantra* (in the Yoginī and the Mūla *cakras*) the eight Bhairavas are listed as the consorts of eight *mātṛkas, yoginīs* or *nāyikās*.

Bhairava is not only Śiva at his most fearful, as noted by Kramrisch, but is Śiva entire, "whether spoken of as emanated from Śiva, or, seen on the highest level of Śiva, as Mahādeva *Kālabhairava*, the Great God Kālabhairava".[8] In the henotheistic *bhakti* of the Kāpālikas, who proclaim Bhairava to be the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe and lord of all the gods, the first seven of the standard list of Bhairavas, as elaborated in the *Śaṁkara-vijaya* of Anandagiri, are identified with the gods Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Sūrya, Rudra, Indra, Candra and Yama respectively :

> The eighth, Saṁhāra-Bhairava, is Bhairava himself. The remaining gods are merely his 'portions' and are further distinguished as creation-makers (*sṛṣṭikartṛs*), preservation makers (*sthitikartṛs*) and destruction-makers (*saṁhārakartṛs*). Taken all together, the creation-makers are his Rudra (*sic* for Ruru-Brahmā) portions, the preservation-makers his Asitāṅga (Viṣṇu) portions, and the destruction-makers his Krodha (Rudra) portions. The Kāpālikas conclude "Thus having caused the creation of the world etc., and afterwards the dissolution, he makes a contraction of seven of his forms and one eternal saṁhāra-Bhairava remains who is the *paramātman*".[9]

Invariably the Kāpālikas, who were particularly popular in Orissa from 7th to 10th centuries, worshipped Bhairava and/or his consorts Cāmuṇḍā with human sacrifices, offerings of human flesh, or performed *pūjā* with the aid of corpses. The Āmardaka sect of Śaiva Siddhānta, popular in western Orissa during this same period, likewise worshipped Bhairava and the adherents similarly identified themselves with Bhairava in their various rituals. According to a tradition preserved in the *Brahmayāmala*, Śiva communicated the knowledge of Tantric *sādhana* to one Śrīkaṇṭha who then composed

12,500 verses in the "*anuṣṭubh chanda*" which he explained among his disciples. The first recipient of this Tantric lore was a person called Bhairava who dispersed his knowledge to other Bhairavas. The last Bhairava gave it to a Brāhmaṇa named Devadatta who belonged to the Oḍra country.[10] Śaivite *ācāryas* of the Bhairava cult who had attained great spiritual merit were thus recognized as Bhairavas, i.e., they were considered to be identical with Śiva himself, and they performed *sādhana* with their female counterparts by their sides.[11] Śaktism, equally popular at this time in Orissa, likewise worshipped Bhairava along with Cāmuṇḍā. In the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (64.108), a Śākta work, for example, it is stated : "In the proximity of Bhairava is Cāmuṇḍā, who bears the name of Bhairavī, she is a nāyikā, gives the desired object when one is devoted to her ; she destroyed (the demons) Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa".[12]

In early Orissan art the image of Bhairava standing, dancing or seated above a corpse (*śava*) is invariably associated with Cāmuṇḍā, either as her consort or as a *pārśva-devatā* (side deity) on a Śākta shrine, or as guardians/ consorts to the sixty-four *yoginīs*.[13] In standing images he has either two or four arms though the iconography differs from textual accounts. Curiously, despite the fact that his home is a crematory, the corpse is conspicuously absent in most textual descriptions, aside from a few Buddhist *sādhanas* of Mahākāla. One of the most popular forms of Bhairava described in texts is that of Baṭuka, meaning dwarf.[14] Śiva, of course, appears as a boy in various myths, in order to test Pārvatī's steadfastness or to quell the fury of the dance of Kālī. In the *Sāradā Tilaka Tantra*, Baṭuka is given three forms—*sāttvika, rājasika,* and *tāmasika*—which have two, four and eight arms respectively and are of white, red and black complexion, the colours which are the values attached to the three *guṇas* (qualities) in the Sāṅkhya doctrine. These same three *dhyānas* are repeated in the *Tantrasāra* where it is mentioned they are taken from the *Viśvasāra Tantra*.[15] The sāttvika *dhyāna*, in which the image is said to prevent unnatural death, is described in the *Sāradā Tilaka Tantra* (20.50) as follows :

> He is a boy, bright and white like crystal. He has three eyes and his face is cheerful and charming with its curly hair. He is decked with ornaments of great beauty, set with nine kinds of gems. His raiment is white. In his two hands he is holding a trident and a stick.[16]

In another *dhyāna* in the *Tantrasāra*, taken from the *Viśvasāra*, Baṭuka holds a *kapāla* and a staff in his two hands, is blue in colour, and wears a *sarpa*-(snake) *Yajñopavīta* (sacred thread). Also in the *Tantrasāra*, taken from the *Kumārīkalpa*, is a two-armed Mahākāla with colour like smoke. He holds a staff and a *khaṭvāṅga* (staff tipped with a skull). He has a terrifying face with fangs, hair matted and flying, three eyes and a moon on his forehead, a large belly, and wears red garments and a tiger-skin.[17] Mahākāla is a particularly popular deity in Vajrayāna Buddhism where he is given a variety of forms ; he may have one face with two, four or six arms, or eight faces with sixteen arms. One of six *sādhanas* describing the two-armed Mahākāla in the *Sādhanamālā* reads :

> The worshipper should conceive himself as Śrī Mahākāla Bhaṭṭāraka who is two-armed and one-faced and has blue colour. He is three-eyed, has fiery radiance, and carries the kartrī and the kapāla in his right and left hands respectively. He bears five skulls on his brown hair which rises up on his head, and is decorated with a chain of severed-heads. He looks terrible with bare fangs, and is decked in ornaments of serpents and a sacred thread made out of a snake. He is short and from his mouth trickles forth blood.[18]

In some of the *sādhanas* the *kartrī* is replaced by a trident. In the Buddhist *Dharmakoṣa-saṁgraha* (Ms. No. G9089), Mahākāla holds the *khaṭvāṅga* and a *kapāla*.[19] Other popular two-armed images include those of Kṣetrapāla. In some cases, as in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (261.51-52)[20] and the *Agni Purāṇa* (51.17), the word Kṣetrapāla is used in the plural to suggest they represent a class of (village) gods who protected the village and fields (*kṣetra*) as their name implies. In these texts they hold a trident or spear and a *kapāla* or severed-head. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* they are to be surrounded by dogs and jackals. In other cases, as in the *Sāradā Tilaka Tantra* (20.34), the name is in the singular. In a *dhyāna* from the latter text he is dark blue, nude, has round and angry eyes, fangs, a wonderful body and serpent ornaments. In his two hands he holds a mace and a *kapāla*.[21] In the *Tantrasāra* he holds a club and a *kapāla*, is red in colour with red garments, unguents and garlands, has a huge and brilliant ascetic's chignon, three eyes, *sarpa-kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings) and a girdle of bells constantly noisy.[22]

In Orissan images of two-armed Bhairava the left hand holds either a *kapāla* or a severed-head while the right hand holds either a *kartri* (sacrificial knife) or a scimitar (curved sword), over his head. In body proportions he is either emaciated or stout, the latter suggesting his youthful nature, exceptions being images of Kṣetrapāla riding a horse or Baṭuka riding a dog. Bhairava invariably wears a garland of skulls and displays terrifying features. Although the visually related motif of Vīrabhadra standing on a crawling demon, possibly representing Dakṣa, appears frequently as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* on early temples, there is no corpse beneath the feet of Bhairava images. The corpse and the cemetery-setting for both Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā, who previously had an owl as her vehicle, does not appear until the late 8th century, by which time Śākta/Tantra concepts were wide-spread. In later images with the corpse, Bhairava is usually depicted standing in *pratyālīḍha* with his right knee slightly bent (fig. 6). Iconographically the two-armed images seem more closely aligned with the image of Mahākāla from Buddhist texts than with the Hindu Bhairava. In two late examples from the Kosaleśvara temple at Deogaon the dagger in the raised right hand resembles a *vajra* while the left arm, cradling a trident, holds a *kapāla* in the manner of numerous Vajrayāna Buddhist deities (fig. 1). In the second image Bhairava dances on a corpse and iconographically is similar to the Buddhist Heruka, though his pose is the *ālīḍha* rather than the more exaggerated *ardhaparyaṅka* of Heruka (fig. 2). The most unusual image is that presently housed in the sanctum of the Bāṇeśvara temple at Balasore where Bhairava is depicted in a flying pose similar to that of Varttāli on images of the Buddhist Mārīcī. The left hand holds a *kapāla* in front of his chest while the raised right hand, now missing, probably held a *kartrī* or a *vajra*. Deviating slightly from the more conventional images is the one housed in the sanctum of a small temple in the Sevasadana compound outside of Chaudar where Bhairava is stout in form and stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose above the corpse (fig. 5). His two hands are broken off though the left one has been clumsily restored in recent times.

In respect to four-armed descriptions in texts, the rājasa *dhyāna* of Baṭuka in the *Śāradā Tilaka Tantra* (20.52), invoked to satisfy all desires, reads

> He is in colour like the rising Sun, three-eyed and is smeared with red unguent and wearing a red garland. He has a smiling face. With two of

2-ARMED BHAIRAVA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	Right hand	Left hand	Features	Name
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa	staff	citron		Bhairava
Śarada-Tilaka (20.50)	trident	stick	boy ; sāttvika form	Baṭuka Bhairava
Tantrasāra	staff	trident	boy	Baṭuka Bhairava
Tantrasāra (Viśvasāra)	kapāla	staff	sarpa-yajñopavīta (dvārapāla)	Baṭuka Bhairava
Śilpa Prakāśa (1.168)	trident	pātra		Bhṛkuṭi-Bhairava
Agni Purāṇa (51.17)	trident	spirit	lean ; big belly	Kṣetrapālas
Matsya Purāṇa (261.51-52)	spear	head	dogs/jackals	Kṣetrapālas
Rupamaṇḍana	trident	kapala	white	Kṣetrapala
Śarada-Tilaka (20.34)	mace	kapala	nude	Kṣetrapala
Tantrasāra	club	kapala	huge ; girdle of bells	Kṣetrapala
Tantrasāra (Kumārīkalpa)	staff	khaṭvāṅga	big belly	Mahākāla
Sadhanamāla	vajra	kapala/ khaṭvāṅga	corpse ; muṇḍamāla ; dancing	Heruka
Dharmakoṣasaṁgraha	khaṭvāṅga	kapala		Mahākāla
Sadhanamala	kartrī	kapala	muṇḍamala	Mahakala
Sadhanamala	trident	kapala	muṇḍamala	Mahakala

2-ARMED BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site/Temple	Date	Right hand	Left hand	Vahana/seat	Pose	Name/Features
Bhubaneswar, Vaital Deul	8thC	kartri	kapala	heads	kneeling	emaciated
Paikapada ; Pataleśvara	9thC	sword	kapala ?	corpse	pratyalidha	muṇḍamala
Kayima ; Kubereśvara	10thC	scimitar	kapala	corpse	pratyalidha	muṇḍamala
Hirapur ; Yogini pitha	10thC	kartri ?	head		pratyalidha	emaciated
Hirapur ;, Yogini pitha	10thC	kartri	kapala ?		alidha	emaciated
Balasore ; Baṇeśvara	10thC	?	kapala		flying	muṇḍamala
Chaudar ; Sevasadana	10thC	?	kapala ?	corpse	tribhanga	muṇḍamala ; stout
Shergarh ; Khajureśvara	10thC	spear	?	horse	riding	Kṣetrapala
Bhillideuli	11thC	sword	kapala	horse	riding	Kṣetrapala
Beraboi ; Śiva temple	11thC	sword	kapala	corpse	pratyalidha	muṇḍamala ; pot-belly
Beyalisbati	13thC	sword	?	horse	riding	Kṣetrapala
Denua ; Jagulai	13thC	?	?	horse	riding	Kṣetrapala
Domogaṇḍira ; Gaṇeśvara	13thC	sword	?	horse	riding	Kṣetrapala
Konarak ; Sūrya Deul	13thC	sword	kapala	dog	riding	Baṭuka-Bhairava
Kapila Muni Āśrama	13thC	sword	kapala	corpse	pratyalidha	muṇḍamala
Deogaon ; Kosaleśvara	14thC	dagger	kapala/ trident	corpse	pratyalidha	muṇḍamala ; pot-belly
Deogaon ; Kosaleśvara	14thC	dagger	kapala/ trident	corpse	dancing	muṇḍamala ; pot-belly

his hands he is making the gestures of granting boons and dispelling fear and in each of the other two hands is held a skull and a trident. His throat is blue. He is decked with hundreds of rich ornaments. On his head is shining the moon. His raiment is of the Bandhūka flower.[23]

This *dhyāna* is repeated in the *Tantrasāra* while in the *Baṭuka Bhairava Kalpa* he holds his trident, noose, *ḍamarū* and the *kapāla* in his four hands. He has a red body, red *jaṭās*, and three eyes. He should be stark naked, riding upon a dog and be surrounded on all sides by a host of demons.[24] A similar description appears in the *Śrītattvanidhi*[25] while Banerjee gives a generalized description of Baṭuka, generally found in Northern India but does not cite a text, whereby he is nude, terrific in appearance with protruding fangs, rolling and round eyes. In his hands he holds objects such as a sword, *khaṭvāṅga*, *śūla*, or a *kapāla*. He usually wears wooden sandals and often is accompanied by a dog.[26] Mahākāla also has a form with four hands in the *Agni Purāṇa* (50.39) where he holds a sword, *kapāla*, trident and club. In the four-armed Mahākāla in the Buddhist *Sādhanamālā* he resembles the two-armed version and carries a *kartri*, sword, *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*.[27] In the *sāttvika dhyānas* of the *Rupāvatāra* and the *Rupamaṇḍana* the four-armed Kṣetrapāla holds a trident and *kapāla*, or boon-giving pose, trident, *kapāla*, or bell, drum and protection pose.[28] As Sāmānya Bhairava in the *Śrītattvanidhi* he holds a *vajra*, *paraśu* (battle-axe), spear and *kapāla*.[29] Other four-armed forms in the *Śrītattvanidhi* include the Brahmaśiraśchedakamūrti where he holds a *vajra*, *paraśu*, head of Brahmā and a trident. He is white in complexion, has three eyes, a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure and *pātra* and *nakra-kuṇḍalas*. he wears a tiger-skin. In the same text is a four-armed Svarṇākarṣaṇa Bhairava who is yellow in complexion, wears yellow garments, is adorned with all kinds of ornaments, is praised by all the gods and in appearance is suggestive of perfect happiness coupled with masterful authoritativeness. In his hand he holds a vessel filled with gold and precious gems, a *cāmara*, *a tomara* (club) and a *śūla* which should be resting on his shoulder.[30] Included among the groups of sixty-four Bhairavas listed in eight groups in the *Rudrayāmala*, those headed by Asitāṅga each hold a trident, *ḍamarū* (small drum), noose and *khaḍga* (sword) while in the group headed by Krodha they each hold a *khaḍga*, shield, sword and *paraśu*.[31] There are in addition four-armed forms mentioned in the *Śāradā Tilaka Tantra* with four and five heads. In the four-faced image (19.30), he is red, smeared with red unguent, decked with red

flowers, wears red garments, has a crescent moon and is decked with priceless ornaments. He holds a *khaṭvāṅga*, noose, goad and white *kapāla*. In the second form (19.48), known as Nīlakaṇṭha, he has five faces, wears tiger-skins, and is adorned with serpents. He holds a rosary, trident, *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*.[32] Included among the descriptions of Bhairava which do not specify the exact number of arms is one given in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Third *khaṇḍa, adhyāya* 59) :

> Bhairava should be made having round and tawny eyes, with a hanging belly, a terrible face on account of tusks (*daṁṣṭra*), wide nostrils, and a garland of *kapālas* (skulls), and frightfully adorned on all sides with ornaments in the form of snakes. He wears elephant-skin as the upper garment, resembling in colour a water-laden cloud. He has many arms, huge and long like Śāla trees, bearing all sorts of weapons as ornaments and possessed of sharp and beautiful nails.
>
> We are further informed that if his pose is bent or swaying (*sācīkṛta*) the image represents Bhairava while if it is frontal (*sanmukha*) it is Mahākala. One of his hands is frightening Pārvatī with a snake.[33] A similar description of Bhairava appears in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* of Hemādri where it is stated he should have a grim face with protruding teeth, a pot-belly, a garland of skulls and serpents as ornaments. He has plaited hair and several hands.[34]

Orissan images of four-armed standing Bhairava normally represent him in *pratyālīḍha* stepping on a corpse, exceptions being two examples of Baṭuka Bhairava accompanied by a dog where he assumes *ālīḍha* with the left knee bent or is shown walking with both knees bent (figs. 3-4). In all cases there is a corpse which is conspicuously absent in textual accounts. The major right hand generally holds a trident over the shoulder while the back hand holds a *kartrī*, either lowered or lifted over the head (figs. 6-7, 9-10). Except for the Baṭuka Bhairava from Paikapada, which holds a sword and *ḍamarū* in the right hands while the left hands hold a trident and *kapāla*, all of the images hold a *kapāla* and a severed-head in the left hands. Iconographically, the Orissan images are again more closely related to Buddhist textual descriptions of four-armed Mahākāla with two of the four weapons being identical, the severed-head and the trident on the images being replaced in the text by a *khaṭvāṅga* and a sword respectively. The severed-head, standard for

images of Cāmuṇḍā, is also conspicuously absent in textual descriptions of Bhairava except for the Brahmaśiraśchedakamūrti form. In the Orissan images Bhairava invariably wears a garland of skulls, a *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in his right ear, and a *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. Fangs protrude from his mouth and his face displays terrifying features. His coiffure is arranged in tiers of serpentine curls which radiate around his head and, as on numerous Cāmuṇḍā images, a pair of owls, viewed from above, frequently appear on each upper corner of the back slab. As in two-armed standing images, when visible the *liṅga* of Bhairava is supine in contrast to most iconographical forms of Śiva in Orissa which depict him *ūrdhvaliṅga*.[35]

Except for the two-armed images in the passage way of the Chausath Yoginī *pīṭha* at Hirapur, the Kṣetrapāla images and Baṭuka Bhairava riding on the dog, all of these images of Bhairava standing on a corpse are detached to suggest that they probably were not part of the external iconographic programme of the temple. Most likely they were intended to be placed near an image of Cāmuṇḍā where they served as her consort or as a guardian figure, as in the case of the kneeling Bhairava in the sanctum of the Vaitāl Deul in which Kapālinī (Cāmuṇḍā) is the presiding deity. In three examples, in fact, the images of Cāmuṇḍā and Bhairava are still juxtaposed together. In each case Cāmuṇḍā is seated and has from six to eight arms while the standing Bhairava has only two or four arms, the reverse of Hara-Pārvatī images where Śiva is dominant and has more arms than Pārvatī. The earliest of these juxtapositions still *in situ* appears in the *jagamohana* of the Uttareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar with the six-armed Cāmuṇḍā placed against one interior wall and the four-armed Bhairava on the opposite wall facing her.[36] The images do not appear to be contemporary, however, with the Cāmuṇḍā image dating to the late 8th or early 9th century while the image of Bhairava appears to be slightly later. At Kapilas Hill, where the eight-armed Cāmuṇḍā and the four-armed Bhairava are contemporary in date, the images are placed next to each other in the sanctum of a small shrine near the entrance to the Candraśekhara temple (figs. 7-8). The third juxtaposition appears in the compound of the destroyed Kapilesvara temple at Kapilamuni Āśram, though only the image of Cāmuṇḍā is presently housed in a small makeshift shrine, the image of Bhairava now situated a few yards away out in the open. Other similar images of four-armed Bhairava are found in the Liṅgarāja compound, where the image is presently being worshipped as

4-ARMED BHAIRAVA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	Right hands 1	2	2	1 Left	Features	Name
Śarada-Tilaka (9.73-75)	sula	skull	preta	ḍamarū	elephant-skin	Asitānga, Ruru, et al
Rudrayāmala	trident	ḍamarū	pāśa	khaḍga	golden	Asitānga
Śarada-Tilaka (20.52)	varada	kapāla	trident	abhaya	smiling (rājasa)	Baṭuka-Bhairava
Śrītattvanidhi	trident	kapāla	pāśa	ḍamarū	dog	Baṭuka-Bhairava
Tantrasāra	varada	kapāla	trident	abhaya	smiling	Batuka-Bhairava
Baṭuka-Bhairava-Kalpa	trident	pāśa	ḍamaru	kapāla	rides dog	Baṭuka-Bhairava
Śrītattvanidhi	vajra	paraśu	head	trident		Brahmaśira-śchedakamurti
Rudrayāmala	khaḍga	shield	sword	paraśu	smoke-coloured	Krodha
Rupamaṇḍana/Rupāvatāra	varada	trident	kapāla	abhaya	white(sāttvika)	Kṣetrapala
Rupamaṇḍana/Rupāvatāra	varada	trident	kapāla	bell/ḍamarū	white(sāttvika)	Kṣetrapala
Śarada Tilaka (19.90)	khaṭvānga	pāśa	goad	kapāla	4 faces	
Agni Purāṇa	trident	club	sword	kapāla		Mahākāla
Sādhanamālā	kartrī	sword	khaṭvānga	kapāla	muṇḍamala	Mahākāla
Śilpaprakāśa (1. 169-70)	trident	khaṭvānga	pāśa	bowl	dvārapala	Nandikeśvara Bhairava
Sarada Tilaka (19.48)	rosary	trident	kapāla	khaṭvanga	5 heads	Nilakaṇṭha
Śrītattvanidhi	gem vessel	cāmara	tomara	trident	yellow garments	Svarṇa Karṣaṇa—Bhairava
Śrītattvanidhi	vajra	paraśu	spear	kapāla	pot-belly	Samaya

4-ARMED BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site/Temple	Date	1	2	2	1 left	Vahana	Pose	Features
Paikpada	9thC	sword	ḍamarū	trident	kapāla	corpse	walking	dog
Uttareśvara temple	9thC	trident	kartri	head	kapāla	corpse	pratyālīḍha	stout ; tongue protruding
Liṅgarāja compound	10thC	trident	kartri	head	kapāla	corpse	pratyālīḍha	stout ; owls
Gauri compound	10thC	trident	kartri	head ?	kapāla ?	corpse	pratyālīḍha	stout ; owls
Kenduli	11thC	trident	kartri	head	kapāla	corpse	pratyālīḍha	stout ; owls
Kapilaprasad	11thC		kartri	head	kapāla	corpse	pratyālīḍha	
Kapilas Hill	11thC	trident	kartri	head	kapāla	corpse	pratyālīḍha	stout ; owls
Banpur : Dakṣa-Prajāpati temple	13thC	sword	abhaya	head	kapāla/ khaṭvāṅga			
Sonepur : Sureśvarī	18thC	kartri	sword	kapāla	head	corpse	ālīḍha	dog
Bhitargarh		trident	ḍamarū	sword	śūla			muṇḍamala

Kālikā, in the Gaurī compound, at Kapilaprasad, and in the Jayadeva Cultural Centre at Kenduli (figs. 6, 9-10).

In addition to these two and four-armed standing images, there are two multiple-armed images, one in *ālīḍha* and the other in *pratyālīḍha*. The first is a three-headed, ten-armed Bhairava stored in a small shrine in the compound of the Khaṇḍeśvara Mahādeva temple at Nasikakotian (Plate XXVII. Fig. 1). He stands in *ālīḍha* with the corpse on the pedestal beneath the *viśvapadma* cushion. Most of his hands are broken off. Presumably he held a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* in his major hands, as these are the weapons held by the flanking attendants. His uplifted back right hand has an arrow while another holds a trident. The remaining right hands probably were in *varada* and held either a goad or a sword. The only remaining weapons intact on the left side are a noose and a bow. The lower left hand probably held a severed-head. The missing weapon may have been a rosary. He wears a garland of skulls and is depicted *ūrdhvaliṅga*. All three faces exhibit terrifying features and a third eye. Each head has a jewelled diadem while the centre head has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The second image is a twelve-armed Bhairava placed within the *jagamohana* of the Svapneśvara Mahādeva temple at Nārāyaṇī (Kantilo). He is depicted in *pratyālīḍha* piercing two demons lying prostrate at his feet (Plate XXVII. Fig. 2). Most of his weapons are partially obfuscated by accretions of paste, the only identifiable ones being an arrow, bow, rosary and shield in addition to the trident. He wears a garland of skulls and a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The bull Nandī is beneath his left foot. The iconography is strongly influenced by images of Mahiṣamardinī and, in fact, the image is presently being worshipped as this goddess.

More terrifying than the standing form of Bhairava is the dancing form where he is emaciated and *ūrdhvaliṅga*. Except for the latter features, he is almost identical with Cāmuṇḍā and, when sexual features are missing, it is difficult to distinguish one from the other, particularly as Cāmuṇḍā may display masculine features such as stubble on her chin. In numerous cases, in fact, the priest worships one as the other. This, of course, is in keeping with Śākta/Tantra concepts whereby it is continually reiterated that there is no distinction between the two, that Śakti, Maheśvara, Brahman all denote the same Being, that "male, female, neuter are verbal and not real distinctions".[37] In Orissan *Śilpa Prakāśa* (1.186-91) this form is referred to as Vāmadeva :

With matted hair, the head adorned with the king of snakes, carrying sword and skull-bowl, Hara, wearing a garland of skulls, having reddish hair, three reddish eyes and fierce teeth, furious, with erect liṅga, naked,

With a sacred thread made of a snake, a skeleton body, adorned with *khaṭvāṅga, kheṭaka,* skull-bowl and sword,

On the left a *preta* on the point of the lance (*śūla*) forming a nice umbrella, a trident and an axe, he is shining brightly, always engaged in dancing.[38]

The iconography of Vāmadeva is more varied than that of the standing form of Bhairava, the number of hands varying from four to eight, and the image may appear on the front of the spire or as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* (surrounding deity) but never, according to the *Saudhikāgama*, as the main image for the *garbha-gṛha*.[39] Whereas the dancing Cāmuṇḍā frequently serves as *āvaraṇa-devatā* for a Śaiva temple, Vāmadeva often serves as a *pārśva-devatā* on Śākta temples. As a yogin, a naked ascetic with matted hair, covered with ashes, and the male counterpart of the Jñānaśakti, "he embodies renunciation, withdrawl from all worldly ties and attachments, and thus the first step towards illumination".[40] Examples where he serves as a *pārśva-devatā* include the Caṇḍī temple at Kishorpur and the Thākurāṇī shrine within the compound of the Buddhanātha Śiva temple at Gāreḍipāñcaṇa (fig. 13). Examples where he serves as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* include the Valukeśvara, Brahmeśvara, Liṅgarāja and Megheśvara temples at Bhubaneswar, the Sobhaneśvara Śiva temple at Niali, the Brahmeśvara temple at Beraboi, and the Someśvara temple near Kakatpur. On the Khilesvara temple at Khilor he is placed on the upper *sandhi-sthala* (bonding) on the south side while the corresponding image on the north side is Āstikajaratkāru. At Sathalapura he apparently served as a guardian figure for the *Saptamātṛkās*, along with an image of Ekapāda which is housed in a separate shrine opposite the entrance to the shrine containing the Mothers and Vāmadeva.

Iconographically the four-armed images invariably hold a trident, *kapāla*, severed-head and a *ḍamarū* or a *kartrī* in various combinations. Six-armed images hold these same five weapons plus a rosary while in eight-armed images the added hands display *varada* and possibly *abhaya*. By the late 13th century the emaciated Vāmadeva form is replaced in popularity by a full-bodied dancing Bhairava, often referred to as Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava. In the

Śāradā Tilaka Tantra (14.71) we get the following *dhyāna* of Mārtaṇḍa :

> We adore Mārtaṇḍa. He is of the redness of a golden lotus and coral. He has four beautiful faces with three eyes in each. He is holding in each of his lotus-like hands a beautiful *khaṭvāṅga*, a lotus, a discus, a *śakti*, a noose, a goad, a very beautiful rosary and a skull. The left half of his body is that of his beloved. On his head is a jewelled crown and he is wearing a shining garland.[41]

The best examples of Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava are those above each portal on the first *potala* of the pyramidal roof of the *jagamohana* of the Sūrya Deul at Konarak,[42] arranged in pairs with one of peaceful and the other of wrathful aspect, as on Orissan *dvārapālas* (doorguards), rather than displaying a half-male and half-female form. They are referred to in the *Saudhikāgama* as Ghaṇṭākarṇa Bhairava and are propitiated to protect the temple from *bhūtas*, *pretas*, fire and lightning, to destroy and drive away all calamities. According to their *dhyāna* they have four faces, a garland of skulls and wear a *mukuṭa*. They are adorned with serpent garlands, stand in a boat, and hold a *khaṭvāṅga*, drinking bowl, lance and *ḍamarū*.[43] The images on the Sūrya Deul are four-faced and dance in a boat. They appear to be six or eight-armed but many of the hands are broken off. Included among the weapons, in various combinations, are the *cakra*, *khaṭvāṅga*, *ḍamarū*, *dhvaja*, *kapāla*, *pānapātra* and trident. The popularity of this form of dancing Bhairava serving as a *pārśva-devatā* on Śākta shrines even as late as the 18th century is evident at Sonepur where an eight-armed image serves such a role on the Khambeśvarī temple. In another example, in a small Śākta shrine in the compound of the Suvarṇameru temple at Sonepur, he is four-armed. Another late eight-armed Bhairava dancing on a corpse is presently placed on the ruins of a temple on the outskirts of Patnagarh.

Non-dancing emaciated images of Bhairava are generally referred to as Atiriktāṅga. One of the earliest, and most gruesome, examples is the one in the sanctum of the Vaitāl Deul mentioned previously where he is depicted kneeling. He is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and holds a *kartrī* and a *kapāla* in his two hands (fig. 14). Flames leap from the *kapāla* and a severed head is next to his right foot while two others are on a tripod on the pedestal. The most enigmatic of these skeletal images is the six-armed example placed near the entrance to the Trilocaneśvara compound at Jajpur which contains three contemporary

4-8 ARMED DANCING BHAIRAVA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text		Right hands 1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 Left	Features	Name
Saudhikāgama		khaṭvāṅga	kapāla					spear	ḍamaru		Mārtaṇḍa
Śārada-Tilaka (14.71)		khaṭvāṅga	lotus	cakra	spear	noose	goad	rosary	kapāla	4 heads	Mārtaṇḍa
Tantrasāra		khaṭvāṅga	bow	cakra	spear	noose	goad	rosary	kapāla	4 heads	Mārtaṇḍa
Śilpa Prakāśa (1.187-91)		khaṭvāṅga	shield	kapāla	sword	spear	trident	paraśu		emaciated	Vāmadeva
4-8 ARMED DANCING BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA											
FOUR-ARMED											
Beraboi	11thC	trident	kartri						head	kapāla	emaciated
Niali	12thC	kapāla	ḍamarū						head	trident	emaciated
Gāreḍipāñcaṇa	13thC	trident	head						?	ḍamarū	emaciated
Sonepur	18thC	trident	paraśu						?	ḍamarū	serpent coiffure
SIX-ARMED											
Kishorpur	10thC	kapāla ?	kartri ?	ḍamarū			rosary	head ?	trident	emaciated	
Sathalpura	10thC	kapāla	varada	ḍamarū			rosary	head ?	?	emaciated	
Valukeśvara	11thC	?	?	noose			?	?	trident	emaciated	
Someśvara	11thC	kapāla	kartri	ḍamarū			rosary	head	trident	emaciated	
Khilor	11thC	kapāla	kartri	ḍamarū			rosary	head	trident	emaciated	
Baudh	11thC	sword	ḍamarū	?			nāga	trident	kapāla	muṇḍamāla	
EIGHT-ARMED											
Kakatpur	11thC	kapāla	kartri	varada	ḍamarū	rosary	?	head	trident	emaciated	
Patnagarh	18thC	sword	kartri	vajra	trident	kapāla	rosary ?	head	shield	surrounded by ṛsis	
Sonepur	18thC	vajra	trident	arrows	sword	shield	bow	paraśu	?		

images of Cāmuṇḍā. An inscription on the base, in *devanāgarī* script, reads : "Oṁ Śrī Vatsadevyayi kīrti".[44] It is generally interpreted as representing Cāmuṇḍā but it is impossible to discern if it represents her or Bhairava, considering there are no sexual features delineated. The deity is seated in an abbreviated *ardhaparyaṅka* pose on a prostrate corpse. The major right hand holds a *kartrī* while the left hand holds a *kapāla*. The lower right hand is extended in *varada* while the uplifted hand holds a rosary.[45] The uplifted back left hands hold the trident and a severed-leg rather than the conventional severed-head. The *carccikā* pose of chewing on one finger conventional on most Cāmuṇḍā images is conspicuously absent. Although the rib-cage is well-preserved, with each rib clearly delineated, there is no evidence of female breasts, unless the rounded contour of the lowest rib is interpreted as representing femininity. Although there is no suggestion of a *liṅga*, this area is covered by the garland of skulls. There is a short beard on the chin. The *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in the right ear, though conventional for Śiva/Bhairava, also appears on several early Cāmuṇḍā images, including the eighteen-armed example in this same compound. The skull-medallion and the *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* coiffure are conventional for both Bhairava and Cāmuṇḍā at this time, i.e., 8th century. Next to the head of the prone corpse is an animal head, possibly a jackal, while peering out from above the feet of the corpse is another animal, either a jackal or the bull Nandī. In essence, the image can possibly be viewed as either Bhairava or Cāmuṇḍā, or as a combination of both.

In the Gajāsura-vadha-mūrti motif in the sanctum of the Vaitāl Deul, the six-armed emaciated Bhairava is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a prostrate corpse (fig. 15). His right hand is extended in *varada* while the corresponding left hand holds a *kapāla*. His middle right and left hands hold a *kartrī* and a trident respectively, a *preta* being draped over the prongs of the trident. His uplifted back set of hands stretch the hide of the elephant-demon over his head. Bhairava is *ūrdhvaliṅga*, wears a garland of skulls, bares terrifying facial features and has a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*. In textual descriptions Śiva in this form is given four, eight or ten arms. In Orissan art the motif of Śiva killing the elephant is invariably associated with the Andhakāsura-vadha-mūrti, particularly on late images, while independent examples of Gajāsura-vadha-mūrti are rare.

In later seated images, Bhairava generally is depicted in *lalitāsana* with one leg pendent, though he does not have a skeletal form. Three examples of this iconographical mode, along with Ekapāda Bhairava, appear in the Caṇḍi *maṇḍapa* at the centre of the Chausaṭh Yoginī *pīṭha* at Hirapur. In each of the seated images Bhairava has ten arms though most of the hands and the weapons are missing (fig. 17).[46] The major right hand is extended in *varada* while the uplifted back right hand holds a *ḍamarū*. One of the uplifted back left hands originally held a sword while one of the left hands most likely held a *kapāla*. The other weapons cannot be determined nor can it be determined how each differed from the other. In all three images Bhairava is *ūrdhvaliṅga*, richly ornamented, has a *sarpa-kuṇḍala* in his right ear, and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. In one of the corners of the pedestal, next to the feet or the head of the corpse, is a dancing *yoginī* holding a *kartṛī* in one hand and a *kapāla* in the other. A similar ten-armed Bhairava appears in the compound of the Trilocaneśvara Mahādeva temple at Kuṇḍeśvara, most of the arms again broken off (fig. 18). His major right hand holds a *kapāla* in front of his chest while another hand probably held a trident, of which only the handle is intact. He wears a garland of skulls, is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and betrays terrifying facial features. A jackal nibbles at the toes of the corpse. Curiously on all four images the *viśvapadma* seat of Bhairava issues from the navel of the corpse, a Śākta concept popular with Cāmuṇḍā images whereby the corpse symbolizes *Puruṣa*, the inactive Śiva, while Cāmuṇḍā symbolizes *Prakṛti*, the activating principle.

Iconographically these images at Hirapur and Kuṇḍeśvara conform somewhat to textual descriptions, as in the *Agni Purāṇa* (52.10-11) where, after naming the sixty-four *yoginīs*, Śiva is referred to as Kṛttivāsa. Accordingly, he is depicted as holding a sword, goad, *paraśu*, arrow and displaying *abhaya* in his right hands while the left hands hold a bow, trident, *khaṭvāṅga* and noose, the fifth weapon or *mudrā* not being mentioned ; or he is seated on a corpse and must be worshipped in the midst of *mātṛkas*. Other ten-armed descriptions include that of Aghora mentioned by Gopinatha Rao. He has three eyes and a terrific countenance. His body is blue and he wears red garments. He is adorned by serpent ornaments. Two of his hands display *abhaya* and *varada* while the remaining hands hold a *paraśu*, *ḍamarū*, sword, shield, arrow, bow, *śūla* and *kapāla*.[47]

A three-headed (three visible heads) Bhairava serves as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* the upper *jaṅghā* of the east side of the Vālukeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar (fig. 16). He has eight or ten arms but most of them are broken off. Two of the uplifted right hands hold a trident and a sword while the remaining back left hand has a shield. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a *viśvapadma* above a prostrate corpse. He is *ūrdhvaliṅga*, wears a *sarpa-yajñopavīta* and is richly ornamented. Fangs are visible in the mouth of each face to suggest his terrifying nature. This contrasts with the more conventional Sadaśiva image where only the south face, representing Bhairava or Aghora, displays terrifying features, as in the ten-armed image with five faces, referred to as Mahādeva, in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.44). In his right hands he holds a rosary, trident, arrow, staff and a lotus while in the left hands he has a citron, bow, mirror, *kamaṇḍalu* and *cārma* (skin or shield).[48] In the *Uttara-Kāmikāgama* a similar image of Sadaśiva has five faces. In his right hands he holds a spear, trident and khaṭvāṅga while displaying *abhaya* and *varada*. The five left hands hold a *nāga*, *ḍamarū*, *nilotpala* and citron (*mātuluṅga*). He stands on a Lotus and wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*.[49] In the *Śāradā Tilaka Tantra* (18.85) the five-faced Sadaśiva holds a trident, *paraśu*, sword, *vajra*, fire, *nāga*, bell, goad, *pāśa* and displays *abhaya*. A nearly identical description appears in the *Tantrasāra*.[50] The corpse, however, is again absent from these textual descriptions though in the *Śilpa-ratna* there is an eight-armed Vīrabhadra who is seated on a corpse, rather than standing on a pair of wooded sandals as in many descriptions of four-armed forms. He is generally described as having a terrible face with fierce tusks and as wearing a garland of skulls. In this eight-armed form, also of terrible countenance, two hands are in *abhaya* and *varada* while the others hold a sword, *Śūla*, *paraśu*, *ḍamarū*, shield and *kapāla*. He has only one face, however, rather than three or five.[51]

On *caturmukha-liṅgas* the Aghora or terrifying form of Śiva likewise faces south and this *pancabrahman* symbolism is extended into the *beki* (neck) on later Orissan temples, beginning with Liṅgarāja, where the different forms of Śiva are inserted, the *khapuri* or skull covering the *amalaka* serving as the fifth head which, representing the symbol of Śiva in transcendancy, faces upward.[52] In the south image of the *beki* on the Liṅgarāja and the Megheśvara temples, two of the best preserved examples, Bhairava (Aghora)

10-ARMED BHAIRAVA/SADASIVA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	Date	Right hands 1	2	3	4	5	5	4	3	2	1 Left hands
1 Agni Purāṇa (52.10)		sword	goad	paraśu	abhaya	arrow	bow	trident	khaṭvāṅga	pāśa	?
2 Āgama (Gopinatha Rao)		varada	paraśu	ḍamarū	sword	arrow	bow	shield	trident	kapāla	abhaya
3 Aparājitapṛcchā (212.33)		yoga	abhaya	spear	khaṭvāṅga	trident	bhujaṅga	rosary	sutra	ḍamarū	yoga
4 Śarada-Tilaka (18.85)		trident	trident	sword	vajra	fire	nāga	bell	goad	pāśa	abhaya
4 Śarada-Tilaka (19.120)		bell	skull	rope	body	sword	shield	khaṭvāṅga	citron	ḍamarū	abhaya
3 Tantrasāra		trident	paraśu	sword	vajra	fire	nāga	bell	goad	pāśa	abhaya
3 Uttara-Kāmikāgama		abhaya	spear	trident	khaṭvāṅga	varada	nāga	rosary	ḍamarū	nilotpala	citron
5 Viṣṇudharmottara (3.44)		rosary	trident	staff	lotus	arrow	bow	citron	mirror	kamaṇḍalu	carma

10-ARMED BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

SITE/TEMPLE											
Hirapur (3 images)	10thC	varada	citron	x	x	ḍamarū	shield	rosary	khaṭvāṅga	x	x
Kuṇḍeśvara	11thC	kapāla	trident	x	x	x	x	rosary	x	x	x
6 Nasikakotian	11thC	trident	kartri	x	x	arrow	bow	x	x	pāśa	kapāla ?

12-ARMED BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site/Temple	1	2	3	4	5	6	6	5	4	3	2	1
7 Nārāyaṇi	trident	?	?	?	?	arrow	rosary	shield	bow	?	?	?
8 Liṅgarāja	trident	?	?	?	arrow	sword	bell	shield	bow	?	?	trident

1 Kṛttivāsa ; 5 heads, seated on a corpse.
2 Aghora
3 Sadāśiva ; 5 heads
4 Khaḍgarāvaṇa ; 5 heads.
5 Pinākin form of Mahadeva ; 5 faces, seated on bull.
6 3 heads and in *āliḍha* above a corpse.
7 Pierces two demons with trident held in front two hands.
8 5 heads and in *āliḍha* piercing Andhakāsura

is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* on a lotus seat and is eight-armed. He holds a trident and a *khaṭvāṅga* in his major right and left hands respectively. His other right hands hold a *paraśu, daṇḍa* (club) and a sword while the remaining left hands hold a shield, *nāga-pāśa* and *kapāla*. He is ornately bejewelled and has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. He does not display terrifying facial features, however, and there is no corpse beneath his seat.[53]

Iconographically, in respect to weapons, these *beki* images on the south correspond exactly to the description of Aghora in the *pañcabrahman* images of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, though the terrifying facial features and the garland of skulls are eliminated on the Orissan images.[54] In the *Śrītattvanidhi* description of Aghora the weapons are *paraśu, veda, aṅkuśa, pāśa, śūla, kapāla, dhakkā* and rosary.[55] Elsewhere Gopinatha Rao describes an eight-armed Aghora who holds a *śūla, ḍamarū, pāśa, kapāla, daṇḍa*, bow, arrow and sword. He should be naked or clad in the skin of the elephant and lion. He has a black complexion and a blue neck. He should be adorned with ornaments composed of serpents and scorpions and be covered with ashes of the dead. A snake should bind his hair and he should be surrounded by demons and goblins.[56] In the *Śāradā Tilaka Tantra* (20.10) the eight-armed Aghora is dark in complexion, wears red garments and unguents, and has terrific fangs. He holds a *paraśu, ḍamarū*, sword, shield, bow, arrow, trident and *kapala*. Serpents circle around him. In the *Kāraṇāgama*, where this form is referred to as Aghorastramūrti and the image is set up for gaining victory, for destroying sins and granting wishes, Aghora has three eyes, eight arms and is of a terrifying nature with side tusks. He is dark in colour and draped in red clothes, adorned with garlands of red flowers, ornaments studded with rubies, and wears three garlands, one with skulls, a second with short daggers and a third of scorpions. His hair should be flaming and his forehead marked with ashes in the shape of the crescent moon. His major two hands hold the trident horizontally as though he was about to make a charge. His other hands hold a *vetāla*, sword, *ḍamarū, kapāla* and *ghaṇṭā*.[57] As in the case of standing images of Bhairava, the corpse textual as *vāhana* is again conspicuous by its absence in these tual accounts.

Included among the eight-armed textual descriptions of Baṭuka Bhairava is one in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* which states that he should hold a *khaṭvāṅga, pāśa, śūla, ḍamarū, kapāla, nāga*, flesh and display *abhaya*. By his side should

be a dog the same colour as his master.[58] In the *tāmasa dhyāna* of Baṭuka Bhairava in the *Śāradā Tilaka Tantra* (20.53), he is the colour of a blue mountain, has a crescent moon on his head, three eyes, and fear-inspiring fangs. He has tawny hair and is nude except for serpent ornaments, a garland of skulls, and gem-set toe rings. In his hands he holds a serpent, bell, *kapāla*, *ḍamarū*, goad, sword, noose and displays *abhaya*. Two similar *tāmasa dhyānas* appear in the *Tantrasāra*. In the first one he holds a *ḍamarū*, goad, sword, trident, *abhaya*, naga, bell and *kapāla*. He has tusks and wears a garland of skulls. In the second *dhyāna*, taken from the *Viśvasāra*, he holds the *khaṭvāṅga*, sword, *pāśa*, trident, *ḍamarū*, *kapāla*, *nāga* and displays *varada*.[59] Other eight-armed forms of similar description include the *tamasa dhyāna* of Kṣetrapāla in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Rūpāvatāra*. He holds a bow, arrow, spear, sword, bell, shield, *kapāla* and *nāga-pāśa*.[60] Again the corpse as a seat or a vehicle is conspicuously absent in all of these descriptions.

In addition to these eight and ten-armed images of seated Bhairava, there is a four-armed image on the Dakṣaprajāpati Śiva temple at Banpur in a niche on the upper part of the south *sandhi-sthala* while a benign aspect of Śiva is on the north side.[61] Both are seated in *lalitāsana*. Bhairava holds a sword in his major right hand while the left hand holds a *kapāla*, the arm cradling a *khaṭvāṅga*. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* while the left hand holds a severed-head. He is richly ornamented and has a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The prostrate corpse, on the pedestal beneath the *viśva-padma*, supports its head with the left arm.

By the 11th century the iconographic programme of temples of all religious denominations in Orissa is strongly permeated by Śākta/Tantra motifs and even conventional Śaiva *āvaraṇa-devatā* such as Ekapāda Bhairava and Andhakāsura-vadha-mūrti are provided a corpse as a seat or vehicle. On the earlier temples, Ekapāda generally holds a *vīja-pūraka* (offering) in his major right hand, extended in *varada*, while the left hand holds a vase. The uplifted back hands hold a rosary and a trident. He is invariably flanked by Bhagīratha and an attendant or Gaṅgā.[62] Beginning in the 10th century he is sometimes associated with the *mātṛkā*, as at Ranipur-Jharial where he replaces Vīrabhadra or at Sathalapura where he functions as a guard, or with *yoginīs* as at Hirapur where his image is placed on the *Caṇḍi-*

maṇḍapa along with the three Bhairava images previously discussed. In respect to iconography on these later images, the major hands hold a weapon, such as a trident, and a *kapāla* while the uplifted back hands hold a *ḍamarū* and a rosary. A corpse is added beneath his feet and he now wears a garland of skulls. The attendants are no longer depicted as paying homage to Ekapāda but are diminutive Bhairava figures, sometimes dancing, who similarly hold a weapon and a *kapāla* (fig. 19). A similar transformation appears in the image of Śiva defeating the demon Andhaka, the elephant-hide stretched above his head being eliminated on later images while a corpse is added beneath his feet. Though most of these late images depicit Śiva with four arms, an exception is the twelve-armed image in the upper *rāhā* niche on the south side of the Liṅgarāja temple. He has five heads, each displaying terrifying features, and is flanked by an attendant Bhairava figure on each side while a third is placed between his feet, each attendant holding a *kapāla* and a *kartṛī* in their two hands (fig. 20). The corpse, likewise displaying a short beard, looks up at Śiva while jackals nibble at his toes and fingers to suggest the cemetery-setting.

In conclusion, the *sava-vāhana* in Orissan images of Bhairava appears to be a Śākta/Tentra concept with the image invariably being associated with Śākta/Tantra deities such as Cāmuṇḍā, *Saptamātṛkas* or *yoginīs*, either as a consort, a *pārśva-devatā* or as a guardian figure. The corpse and cemetery-setting appears for both Cāmuṇḍā and Bhairava at the time Śākta/Tantra concepts and rituals were becoming popular throughout Orissa. Although the corpse is a conventional seat or vehicle for Cāmuṇḍā in most textual accounts, it is conspicuously absent in textual descriptions of Bhairava, aside from *sādhanas* of the Buddhist Vajrayāna deities Mahākāla and Heruka. When a corpse is prescribed as a seat for Bhairava, as in the case of Kṛttivasa in the *Agni Purāṇa*, the deity is specifically associated with the worship of *yoginīs* or *mātṛkās*, while in the depiction of ten-armed seated Bhairava images, the corpse is represented as *Puruṣa* as in many examples of Cāmuṇḍā where she represents *Prakṛti*. Śākta/Tantra influence is equally obvious in standing and dancing images where Bhairava holds a *kartṛī* and severed-head, cognizances suggestive of human sacrifice which plays a major role in the rituals of extreme Śākta/Tantra sects. Although the *kartṛī* and severed-head are objects conventionally ascribed to Cāmuṇḍā in textual accounts, they are again absent in most textual accounts for Bhairava, a rare exception being the

8-ARMED BHAIRAVA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	Right hands 1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1 left	Name
Āgama (Gopinatha Rao)	trident	damarū	pāśa	arrow	bow	kapāla	daṇḍa	sword	Aghora
Aparājitapṛcchā (212.14)	trident	kalaśa	sword	daṇḍa	shield	kapāla	pāśa	khaṭvāṅga	Aghora
Karaṇāgama	trident	vetāla	sword	ḍamarū	kapāla	bell	?	trident	Aghora
Prapañcasāra (ch. 27)	rosary	veda	pāśa	goad	ḍamarū	khaṭ-vāṅga	varada	nāga	Aghora-Śiva
Prapañcasāra (28.12-13)	paraśu	damarū	sword	arrow	bow	shield	spear	kapāla	Aghora-Rudra
Rūpamaṇḍana	trident	paraśu	daṇḍa	sword	shield	nāga-pāśa	kapala	khaṭvāṅga	Aghora
Śarada-Tilaka (20-10)	paraśu	damarū	sword	arrow	bow	shield	trident	kapāla	Aghora
Śrītattvanidhi	paraśu	veda	goad	pāśa	śūla	kapāla	ḍhakkā	rosary	Aghora
Rūpamaṇḍana	khaṭvāṅga	sword	pāśa	spear	ḍamarū	kapāla	varada	nāga	Baṭuka
Rūpamaṇḍana	khaṭvāṅga	pāśa	trident	damarū	kapāla	nāga	flesh	abhaya	Baṭuka
Śāradā-Tilaka (20-53)	nāga	bell	kapāla	damarū	goad	sword	pāśa	abhaya	Baṭuka
Tantrasāra	damarū	goad	sword	trident	kapāla	bell	nāga	abhaya	Baṭuka
Tantrasāra (Viśvasāra)	khaṭvāṅga	sword	pāśa	trident	ḍamarū	kapāla	nāga	varada	Baṭuka
Rūpamaṇḍana/Rupāvatāra	spear	sword	bell	arrow	bow	shield	kapāla	nāga-pāśa	Kṣetrapāla
1 Aparājitapṛcchā (212.39)	varada	goad	danta	paraśu	kapāla	śarak-ṣamāla	pāśa	daṇḍa	Rudragaṇe-śvara
2 Śilparatna	varada	sword	trident	paraśu	ḍamarū	shield	kapāla	abhaya	Vīrabhadra

8-ARMED BHAIRAVA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site/Temple	Date									Pose
Liṅgarāja	11thC	trident	paraśu	daṇḍa	sword	shield	pāśa	kapāla	khaṭvāṅga	vajraparyaṅka
Valukeśvara	11thC	kapāla	x	trident	sword	shield	x	x	x	vajraparyaṅka

1. 5 faces and a bull-mount
2. Seated on a corpse
3. 3 heads and seated on a corpse.

Brahmaśiraśchedaka-murti form in the *Śrītattvanidhi* which includes the severed-head of Brahma as one of the four cognizances. In the emaciated dancing form Bhairava even adopts the peculiar coiffure of Cāmuṇḍā and their forms when dancing are so similar that it is difficult to distinguish one deity from the other. In that Śāktism and Tāntrism, both in its Hindu and Buddhist forms, develop very early in Orissa and soon dominate the iconography of temples and individual images, it is quite natural that this would particularly be evident in the image of Bhairava. This may not be the case in other parts of India where Śāktism and Tāntrism were not so pervasive. Each area has its own iconographic peculiarities and seldom do images correspond exactly to prescribed canons set forth in existing texts.

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35. Exceptions are late examples of Śiva Andhakāsura-vadha-mūrti where he is in *ālīḍha* and his *linga* is not visible.
36. See Thomas Donaldson, "Orissan Images of the Emaciated Cāmuṇḍā—the Devouring Devi-Śakti and the Consort of Bhairava", *Culture, Tribal History and Freedom Movement* (*Dr. N.K. Sahu Commemoration Volume*), edited by P.K. Mishra (Delhi, 1989, figs. 3-4). I originally suggested an 8th century date for both images but now feel that the Bhairava image is somewhat later in date.
37. Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe), *Hymn to Kāli* (*Karpūrādi-Stotra*), with introduction and commentary by Vimalananda-Svami (Madras, 1965), p. 31.
38. *Śilpa Prakāśa*, translated and annotated by Alice Boner and Sadasiva Ratha Sarma (Leiden, 1966), p. 78.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
40. *Ibid.*, p. XLIII.
41. *Śarada Tilaka Tantram*, p. 37. He here combines male/female and again agni/soma characteristics, as well as those of Sūrya and Śiva.

42. See Thomas Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, 3 Vols. (Leiden, 1985-87), II, figs. 2799-2800.
43. *New Light on the Sun Temple of Konarka : Four Unpublished Manuscripts*, translated and annotated by Alice Boner and Sadasiva Ratha Sarma with Rajendra Prasad Das (Varanasi, 1972), p. 226. In the *Agni Purāṇa* (50.41), as an aspect of Śiva, Ghaṇṭākarṇa has 18 arms and crushes accrued sin and eruptive diseases.
44. Dines Chandra Sircar, "Two Inscriptions from Jajpur", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (1949), pp. 184-85. Vatsadevī was probably a Bhauma queen and the inscription suggests this image was her "fame-producing work". See Thomas Donaldson, "Orissan Images of the Emaciated Cāmuṇḍā", fig. 15.
45. Although the rosary is conspicuously absent in textual descriptions of Cāmuṇḍā, it is a conventional cognizance on Orissan images so we cannot use its presence as evidence to prove the image represents Bhairava.
46. See Thomas Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, figs. 3571-72.
47. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 200.
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16

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE ALAKĀ VALLEY

P.K. RAY

All cultures of the past, right from the dawn reflection, flourished in the river valleys which provided them all opportunities to rise and spread in multi-dimentional proportions. The archaeological remains in the shape of monuments, sculptures, epigraphs, potsherds, coins etc. that form the main source of history and culture of the past, prove rightly the stated proposition.

Situated in a commanding geographical position on the eastern sea-board, Orissa played a very conspicuous and vital role in the cultural diffusion and assimilation, nurtured the mainstream of Indian religions acting as a furnace to boil and melt into one, all the diverse trails and complicated ideologies and philosophies, and impelled its brave sons to carry on maritime activities with far off countries and subsequently colonize them identifying themselves as pioneers in Indian colonization and bringing economic prosperity. The Oriyas were a military race living in a vast empire and proved substantially their military capability, adventure and bravery in numerous battles fought against the stubborn enemies from Aśoka to British rulers with their *caturaṅga-balas.*

Orissa can rightly claim as the land of rivers in the valleys of which religions and culture in all facets developed under the royal patronage and popular support. Confluences, bifurcation-points and mouths of the rivers were viewed with utmost sacredness and hence religious and secular sanctuaries were erected.

Mahānadī is the largest and widest river of Orissa; a number of tributaries are branched out of it forming a complicated net-work. Each river in such a net-work is considered sacred, and exposes a series of monuments of great eminence. The river Alakā, a tributary of the Kāṭhjuri branches off from Bagalpur and falls at Marichpur which contains the biggest Mārīcī image of Orissa. This was a flourishing port during the British period. The river flows in a zigzag way through Jagatsinghpur and Balikuda Police Station of Cuttack district. From the religious and archaeological points of view the river is very important. Religious monuments spread from the bifurcation point at Bagalpur. Places on either sides of the bank of the river exhibiting archaeological remains are Bagalpur, Aḍhangagaḍa, Hariharpur, Deobhogar, Orisonuagarh, Puranagarh, Salajanga, Kundeswar, Sathalpur, Naudigrama, Dhiasahi, Khorata, Donduasinghpur, Kalyanapur, Chheliagarh, Parahat, Tandikula, Kathiapara, Dengapetaipur, Nasikesvara, Chandapur, Balikuda and Marichpur.

We came across a unique temple of the post-Gupta period (c.7th century A.D.) in the village Balia-Gopinathpur, half buried under the sand. The Śiva temple known as Bhuvaneṣvaradeva is a prototype of the Lakṣmaneśvara group of temples of Bhubaneswar in the Puri district and Proṇameśvara Śiva temple at Jajpur in the Cuttack district. This Bhuvaneswaradeva temple was fully exposed to view by the Archaeological Survey of India during 1987. It rises abruptly from the ground level with a short *pābhāga* consisting of three mouldings. The temple is adorned with rare sculptures, the scrolls and arabesques, meandering creepers and *caitya window* motifs. The most interesting is the design of the door-jamb. The lintel contains the figures of eight planets.

Similar to Prachi valley, ancient brick monuments are scattered along with stone-monuments on the banks of the river. All the brick monuments bear common characteristics of c.9th-10th century A.D. The Paścimeśvara brick temple at Adhangagada approachable from Anakhia covering a distance of 5kms on the metal road is *pañcaratha* in design; the exterior though much ruined, is the most striking feature both for its architectural proposition and profuse decoration of carved brick works. The most remarkable feature is the employment of voussoir arch. The use of overlapping brick courses appear to have served in the purpose of spanning and open space in brick moulding as

in the original tower at Buddhagaya[1]. The employment of such voussoir arch is also to be noticed in the Viṣṇu temple at Bhitargaon[2]. The *jagamohana* bears the common *piḍha* character of the brick monuments of c. 9th-10th century A.D. found in the Prachi valley.[3]

The next brick monument having the same characteristics is the Pañcpāṇḍava group of temples at Dhanisha, situated in the Balikuda Police Station. The site is approachable from Bakhrabad on Jagatsingpur-Machagaon road covering a distance of 8 kms. This group of temples is named after Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. The central temple, which is greater in height, is known as the Bhīma temple. Both the sanctum and the *jagamohana* have five mouldings on the *pābhāga* portion. Loose sculptures, such as Viṣṇu, Āstika-Jaratkāru and Trivikrama Viṣṇu are lying scattered. This is a protected monument of the State Government.

Another brick temple of the same characteristics, half covered with lime plaster in ruined condition is situated in the village Nandigram, 3 kms from Naugan. This Śiva temple, known as Nandikeśvara consists of the sanctum and the *jagamohana*. The *Nāṭamandira* is of later addition. It contains wood-carvings similar to those found in the Śiva temple at Kapilas in the district of Dhenkanal. Among the loose sculptures, mention may be made of Viṣṇu, Trivikrama-Viṣṇu and Āstika-Jaratkāru. This is also protected by the State Government.

Among the stone temples, so far survived in this valley, the noteworthy is the Trilocaneśvara Śiva temple in the village of Kuṇḍeśvar, 5 kms from Alanahata under Balikuda P.S. It is a *pañcāyatana-kṣetra* with Trilocaneśvara temple in the middle. The sanctum is of *pañcaratha* design while the *jagamohana* is of *piḍha* style. On the basis of inscription in the temple wall, it can be assigned to about 9th century A.D. Stray sculptures lying in the temple premises are, four-handed and eight-handed Mahiṣamardini Durgā, Rāvaṇānugraha image, ten-handed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Viṣṇu, Kanaka-Bhairava, Pārvatī, Iśāna, Umā-Maheśvara, Baṭuka-Bhairava, Āstika-Jaratkāru, Andhakāsura-vadha image of Śiva and aṣṭabhujā-Cāmuṇḍā. All these sculptures have now been displayed in a shed constructed by the State Archaeology Department.

Not very far from this place, just across the river Alakā, one would be astonished to find the ruined temples of Saptamātṛkā and Ajaikapāda-

Bhairava at Sathalpur. The temple of Ajaikapāda-Bhairava has been renovated by the State Archaeology Department. Although the images of Ajaikapāda-Bhairava are not very rare in Orissa, it is for the first time I have come across the worship of the deity in a temple of c.10th century A.D. The temple of the Sapta-mātṛka has collapsed, but the remnants of the temple contains the images of Brahmāṇī, Indrāṇī, Śivānī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī and Cāmuṇḍā. Vīrabhadra is also associated with the Sapta-mātṛkas. Both the temples are now being protected by the State Archaeology Department.

In the course of my exploration works in this valley, I have found out that Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished here in a chronological order. The findings of Jaina images namely, Ṛṣabhanāth, Pārśvanāth and Mahavīr in the village Kantara bear the testimony of the prevalence of Jaina cult in the area. The stray finds of images of Avalokiteśvara, Manjuśree, Tārā in the village Kalyanpur now worshipped under a tree suggest the prevalence of Buddhism in this area during c. 8th-9th century A.D. There is a mound in the adjoining village of Kalyanpur, situated about 5 kms from Dhiasahi on the Cuttack-Machagaon road, which, when excavated, may throw further light on the efflorescence of religions in this valley. It is also interesting to observe an unique image of Marici worshipped as *Grāma-devī* in a *Brāhmaṇa-śāsan* called Kaduapada on Cuttack-Machagaon road.

Simultaneously with Buddhism, Śaivism also flourished in this valley, as apparent from the findings of a large number of Śiva temples, half-buried, some in ruined condition and some maintaining their original structures. Apart from the findings of large number of Śaivite images, especially of the Bhairava group, mention may also be made of the images of Umā-Maheśvara worshipped in the village Kaduapada, Salajanga and Odiso.

Similarly, Śāktism played a predominant role in this valley. A large number of images of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā starting from four-handed to ten-handed have been traced out in this valley. The only Śākta temple surviving uptill now is the Bhagavatī temple at Parahat about 10 kms from Balikuda. The image is ten-handed Mahiṣamardinī, holding bow, arrow, *khaḍga, cakra, triśūla*, conch, shield, mirror, *śaṅkha* and *aṅkuśa* is worshipped inside a temple as Bhagavatī. The present temple has been built on the ruins of a

collapsed ancient brick temple. The three lines of inscriptions engraved on a small pillar in front of the temple indicate the worship of this ten-handed Durgā during the Somavaṁśi period. An image of *Aṣṭabhujā* Mahiṣamardinī is worshipped as *grāma-devī* in the village of Odiso-Nuapada on the right bank of the river Alakā. Although I have not come across ancient monuments in support of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇava cult, I have found out four-handed images of Viṣṇu worshipped as Mādhava and Vāsudeva in different areas of this river valley. An unique image of Viṣṇu holding *śaṅkha, cakra, gadā* and *padma* in his respective two right and two left hands is now worshipped as Vāsudeva in the village of Donduasingpur, situated at a distance of about 3 kms from Kaduapada. This image has ben declared as State protected. Besides, images of Viṣṇu are to be found in the village of Kuṇḍesvar, Parahat, Dhanisa, Deobhoga and Kusinga. All these four-handed images can be dated to 10th century A.D. It is also worthwhile to mention that an image of Hayagrīva, a form of Viṣṇu is worshipped inside a Śiva temple in the village Purāṇa-Vasudeipur. All these evidences justify the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in the form of Vāsudeva, Mādhava and Hayagrīva. The Vaiṣṇavism survived in this valley upto c. 17th century A.D. The Vaiṣṇavism which took a different for after the advent of Sri Caitanya and the Pañca-sakhās, has also been reflected in the religious life of this valley Separate shrines began to be established in the name of Pañca-sakhās in different areas of Orissa. The shrines dedicated to Yaśovanta are still to be found in the village of Adangagada on the Cuttack-Jagatsinghpur road. So also the shrine dedicated to Ananta has still survived in ruined condition in the village of Odiso on the left bank of Alakā.

During the Maratha period, the river Alakā was navigable. It was one of the principal centres of trade where commodities like betel, betel-nuts and potatoes were transported to different parts of Orissa. The remains of a port belonging to the Maratha period still lies at a place called Hariharpur (at present known as Jagatsinghpur). This place when excavated may bring to light the existence of a full-fledged port of the Maratha period. Like the Prachi river, it was a navigable river throughout the year upto the 18th century A.D.

The Alakā valley was also flooded with Muslim monuments starting from 17th century to the 19th century A.D. It is a well-known fact in

medieval history that with the establishment of a Mughal rule in India in 1526, Indian architecture, particularly the Muslim architecture embarked upon a new phase of development. The Mughal period witnessed a more distinctive and homogenous form which also greatly varied from province to province. The buildings of this period come under a separate school of architecture. Most of the buildings of this important period are seen in the north-western part of India. The Muslim monuments of about 17th and 18th centuries are to be found at Balikuda, Dengapiteipur and Singhpur. There are three monuments which bear common characteristics. The Muslim monument at Balikuda is a plain stone building consisting of a single room, surrounded by a dome. To the east there is a platform surrounded by a thick wall with a gate. A sunshade or balcony was laid on cantilever brackets fixed into and projecting from the walls which introduced the chajja, chatsis, tall towers and half domed double poitals which are some of the other distinguishing features of Indo-Islamic architecture. Besides, a gallery is screened off in a corner of the prayer hali. The main entrance to a mosque is at the last and the sides are enclosed by cloisters. A tank is provided for ablution usually in the courtyard of a mosque. The descriptions of the mosque at Denga-Piteipur and Singpur are of the same nature.

The exploration of the Alakā valley reveals that Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished in a chronological order. At present although this river has lost its sanctity and glamour, the remnants of the monuments standing here are the witnesses of its past glory.

REFERENCES

1. P.K. Agrawal, *Gupta Temple Architecture*, p. 49.
2. *Ibid*, p. 49.
3. P.K. Ray, *Prachi Valley Report*, 26 ff.

17

NAṬARĀJA IMAGES OF BENGAL AND ORISSA A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

I

British Bengal has yielded a number of Naṭarāja images, although numerically the largest corpus belongs to the region now included in Bangladesh. Altogether seventeen Naṭarāja images (a few in fragments) from undivided Bengal are known to me. Of them three hail from West Bengal and the rest from Bangladesh. Typologically, with the exception of two, all the examples depict the divine dancer, Śiva-Mahādeva, as dancing on the back of his bull-mount Nandi. And again with the exception of one, all of them show the bull standing and indeed most of them depict his ecstasy by his upraised leg. Compared to Bengal the yield of Orissa is much more prolific, and indeed the Naṭarāja motif was one of the dominant motifs in the iconoplastic art of Orissa in the early medieval times. The commonest image type in Orissa portrays the divine dancer as dancing on the ground but in a few specimens the god is seen as dancing on the back of Nandī. These Orissan specimens are later than the earliest of the series of the Bengal images, which is datable to the early tenth century.

II

As said above, with the exception of one, all the Bengal examples depict Śiva-Naṭarāja as dancing on the back of his bull, and reasonably therefore this image-type can be described as a product of the Bengal school. Out of these fifteen, only one is cast in bronze and it is now housed in the Amṛtaghaṭeśvara temple at Melakkadambur in Tanjavur district, Tamilnadu.

All the rest are in stone. Broadly speaking, in this iconic type Śiva is seen as dancing on the back of Nandī, who in turn charged with ecstasy, raises one of his legs and wistfully looks up at his master; the god is multi-handed, the number of his hands is either ten or twelve. In one specimen, considered to be the earliest in the series (see below), the Śiva is eight-armed, while in a fragmentary piece, he is eighteen-handed. The Bengal images fall into three broad categories in respect of the number of arms.

Type I : Eight-armed (Fig. 1)

Śiva is dancing in the *lalita* mode on the back of Nandī, who is facing left (proper right) and is turning his head back appreciatively to watch his master's dance; his delight being expressed by one of his upraised legs (sadly mutilated, however). The god is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and of his eight hands the main pair is clasped over the head, while the surviving hands exhibit a *damarū* (right, second from the top), *akṣasutra* (third right, held like a round beaded garland) and a *kamaṇḍalu* (the lower most left); the remaining right hand, which is broken from the elbow, was probably carrying a *triśūla*. He wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* and is moderately bedecked with ornaments like ear-rings, haras, armlets and *kañcidama*. His mount is also ornamented with a necklace of bells, a pair of garlands which go round his hump and a carpet, which covers the major part of his back, is tucked with the help of a band at the centre. There are two attendants, one on each side of the bull, and two flying vidyadharas, also one on each side of the principal figure, near the top of the stele.

This relief belonging to early 10th century was discovered along with a few other antiquities in course of the digging of a tank about fifty years ago at Adra, near Bamunara, another village, about three kilometers from the steel-city of Durgapur in the district of Burdwan, West Bengal.

Type II: Ten-armed

Variety A

Same, but the mode of dance is *catura*. Nandī is facing towards left and is looking up at his lord, his joy being indicted by one of his upraised rear legs. As in the preceding instance, the god is ithyphallic and holds from the above *khaḍga, śūla, daṇḍa, triśūla* in his right hands and the *kheṭaka* and the *pāśa* in two of his left hands (second and third left, also from the above), the

other two left hands being damaged; the normal pair of hands is disposed in an expressive rhythm of dance, and they too are damaged. His dress and ornaments include a loin-cloth, much above the knee, a *nāgopavīta* (serpent-thread), the anthropomorphised nāga with its human bust shown on the left shoulder of the god. Śiva-Naṭarāja is flanked by his spouses—Gaṅgā on her dolphin-mount and Gaurī on her lion. On the pedestal is the Nāgaloka or the nether region where a number of nāgas (half-men, half-serpent) as well as some gaṇas are shown in the attitude of obeisance. On the top of the backslab on its raised portion are carved the figures of principal gods.

Find spot: Sankarbandha, close on the south of Rampal, Police Station Munsiganj, District Dhaka, now preserved in the National Museum of Bangaldesh. Late 11th century.

Variety B (Fig. 2)

Same, but here the bull is facing right. The emblems of the *ūrdhvaliṅga* god include *khaḍga, triśūla, vajra* (absent in the preceding specimen), khaṭvāṅga (also absent in the above piece) in the four right hands and *kheṭaka, daṇḍa*, and *sarpa* (absent in previous piece) in the three left hands, the upper most left hand being empty; the normal hands are engaged in the rhythm of the dance. He is flanked by Gaṅgā and Yamunā, on the left and right sides respectively, the former being on her dolphin-mount and the latter on her tortoise-mount. In addition to the deities such as Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Kārtikeya, figured on the top of the stela, there are two vidyādharas with garlands on their hands on two sides near the head of the principal figure. On the pedestal are seen two devotees and two dancers, a drummer and a cymbalist.

Findspot Palgiri, Comilla District, Bangladesh and now preserved in the National Museum, Bangaldesh. Early 11th century A.D.

Variety C

Same. Bull facing right. The principal right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*, while the left is held obliquely along the chest, both hands indicating the dancing posture. Among the remaining hands, the right ones carry *khaḍga*, lance, *triśūla*, and *ḍamarū*, while the left hold *khaṭvāṅga, pāśa, kheṭaka* and *kapāla*. This image strikingly shows the divine dancer as wearing a garland of human skulls, and together with his emblems like *khaṭvāṅga* and *kapāla* it exudes the influence of Tantrik cult.

Findspot Govindapur in the Sunderban area, South of district 24 Parganas. Whereabouts unknown. Late 11th century.

Variety D

Same. Bull facing left, but unlike the Sankarbandha specimen (Variety A), the present relief shows the god as displaying his normal left hand in the *gaja-hasta* pose. Attributes, dress and ornaments of the god almost the same as in other instances. The entire upper portion, above the head of the god, is lost.

Findspot Ballalbari at Rampal, district Dhaka, now in the National Museum of Bangladesh. Late 11th century.

Another almost identical piece, but with a less crowded composition comes from Baranagar, Chatalpar, Comilla district. Preserved in the above Museum and assignable to the same period. The left portion together with the hind parts of Nandī are damaged.

Variety E

Same. Bull, which faces left is, however, seated and in this respect the present piece differs from all the examples of the genre. Besides, it differs from the preceding varieties on account of a *viṇā* held by the deity in his normal pair of hands, it bears affiliation with the next or the third type which shows the said musical instrument. The distinctiveness of the piece is further spelt out by the presence of Nandī and Bhṛṅgi who are standing by the right and left sides of the god. Śiva displays a *ḍamarū, khaṭvāṅga, varadamudrā* and an *akṣamālā* in his right hands (from the above) and a *daṇḍa*, a *kapāla* and a *sarpa* in the surviving left hands (also from the above), the uppermost hand being broken. The pedestal on which the bull is seated is foliated and terminates with small human figures.

Findspot Rajshahi, Bangladesh and now preserved in the Asutosh Museum, university of Calcutta. 11th century A.D.

Variety F

Same as above, the mode of dance being *lalita*, Nandī is facing right. Śiva is wearing the same type of dress and ornaments and is *ūrdhvaliṅga* as usual. In his normal hands he is carrying a *viṇā* and in the right hands, from the above, a *khaḍga*, a *triśūla, vajra* and a *khaṭvāṅga*, and in the left hands, also from the above, a *kheṭaka, daṇḍa, pāśa* (?) and *kapāla*. He is flanked by

Gaṅgā and Gaurī and the top of the stela is marked by the presence of figures of Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya and others.

Findspot : Rayerkathi, a village under the Jhalakathi sub-division of the Barisal district. Now preserved in the National Museum of Bangladesh. Late 11th century.

Variety G

Same as above, bull facing right and Śiva dancing on it is *lalita*. The main right hand is in gajahasta while the left in *patāka* raised up. The remaining right hands hold from the above *khaḍga, triśūla, daṇḍa, vajra* and the left ones *kheṭaka, khaṭvāṅga, kapāla* and *pāśa*. The god shows his usual characteristics and ornaments, such as the *ūrdhvaliṅga jaṭāmukuṭa* with terminals of the jatas trailing on shoulders, a snake on his shoulder with upraised hood, and haras and ear-rings. Among the attendant figures, both on the pedestal itself and against it on its front side, some look like weird Bhairavas and the rest like Gaṇas; among them the sons of the god, Gaṇapati and Skanda, as well as Sarasvati, seated on a swan (to the right against the aureole), are recognisable. The two figures of the Vidyādharas with garlands in their hands are seen set against this aureole.

Findspot : Unknown, but must be somewhere in Bengal, most probably in east Bengal. Now enshrined in the Amṛtaghaṭeśvara temple at Melakkadambur, Tanjavur district, Tamilnadu.

Type III : Twelve-armed (fig. 3)

In this well-carved and well-preserved specimen Śiva is dancing on the back of Nandī on his toes and with legs crossed, the right behind the left. The bull is facing left. The god holds a snake by his upper most pair of hands, exhibits a *mudrā* marking, as it were, the time, above his head by the next pair of hands and playing on the *viṇā* by the normal right and left hands; in the remaining right hands he carries from the above a *ḍamarū, pāśa* and *akṣasutra* and in the left hands also from the above, a *kapāla*, a triśūla and a *kamaṇḍalu*. Bedecked with usual ornaments including the jaṭāmukuṭa, Śiva is flanked by the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā riding on their dolpin and tortoise mounts respectively as in the Palgiri relief (Type II Variety. B). The entire composition is placed on a *saptaratha* pedestal, the central projection of which bears a figure of emaciated Bhṛṅgi inside a rectangular niche. Below

the same pedestal is an inscription in the twelfth century characters : *Oṁ Śrī Catuḥ Samāyāḥ* (i.e. the image is donated by a lady named Catuh-sama). The backslab is rather remarkably plain except the *kīrtimukha* at the top and a raised border on either side.

Findspot Maniari, District Rajshani, now on display in the Varendra Research Museum. 12th century.

III

As in Bengal, in Orissa the dancing form of Śiva fascinated his devotees and the quantitative assessment of its surviving illustrations attests its relative popularity in Orissa. Although most of them show the god as dancing on the ground, there are at least four examples, so far known to me, which belong to the Bengal type. Typologically they can be divided into the following classes in respect of the number of hands.

Type I : Four-armed

Śiva, who is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and wears an elongated jaṭāmukuṭa and prominent ear-rings, is dancing on the back of his mount in the *ūrdhvajānu* mode with the left leg upraised. The bull, unlike in other specimens, is facing left. He carries a long *vinā* diagonally across the chest in his normal pair of hands, and some indistinct objects in the rear hands (a flower in the left (?). The loose end of his *kanhidama* hangs between his legs while the ends of a scarf flutter below his back arms. He is flanked by a dancing attendant on two sides.

Findspot Brahmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar. Middle of the 11th century.

Type II : Six-armed

Variety A

Śiva is dancing in the *lalita* mode on the back of his mount which is facing right. His normal left hand is in the *gaja-hasta* pose, while the right exhibits the *abhaya-mudrā*; his upraised rear hands hold a serpent while his remaining hands carry a *ḍamarū* and a *triśūla*. He wears an elongated jaṭā-mukuṭa and ribbons billow put behind his ear-rings. He is flanked by a vidyādhara on each side of his head at the top of the back slab, while a dancing figure, apparently of a deity, is on either side near the bottom. One of these devas holds a *sruk* while the other holds a fan, suggesting they are Agni

and Vāyu, two of the dikpālas. Nandī turns his head back to see his master's dance.

Findspot *In situ*, carved in a medallion on the north side of the *jagamohana* of the temple of Pāpanāśinī, Bhubaneswar, which was erected during the reign of Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva (A.D. 1435-1467).

Variety B (Fig. 5)

Śiva is dancing in the *bhujaṅgatrāsita* mode with his upraised left leg crossing his body. The bull is facing right. His normal left hand is in the *gajahasta* pose while the right hand in *abhaya*; among his remaining hands the uppermost pair holds a serpent, and the right and left ones carry a *ḍamarū* and a *triśūla* respectively. His ornaments include a long garland, necklaces and ear-rings and his hair is arranged in a longish crown. An attendant carrying a musical instrument stands in each lower corner.

Findspot Kanderpur, Amangai island, from the Grāmeśvara temple near Rautrapur on the north bank of the Mahānadī, Atgarh subdivision, Cuttack district. Middle of the 15th century.

Type III : Eight-armed

Śiva, *ūrdhvaliṅga* as usual, is dancing on the back of his mount in the *catura* mode; Nandī is facing the right. The god has his left hand in *gajahasta* and the right hand in *abhaya*; in the two surviving hands he carries a *ḍamarū* in the right and most probably a *triśūla* in the left. Ornaments, including crown, are similar to those in the above example.

Findspot : In a niche on the southern portion of the wall connecting the sanctuary of the Dakṣa-Prajāpati temple with its jagamohana at Banpur, Puri district. Late 13th century.

IV

A comparative study of the Naṭarāja images of Bengal and Orissa, as described above, reveals that they belong to a certain fundamental icon plastic conception. All of them portray the god as dancing on the back of his mount Nandī, and further, in all of them the divine dancer is *ūrdhavaliṅga* (in one case it is not visible), many-armed and adorned with usual ornaments including a prominent *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Typologically, the Bengal images are divisible into two groups : the first group shows the god with a *khaḍga* in the upper most right hand and with the normal attributes like *kheṭaka*, *ḍamarū*,

khaṭvāṅga, kapāla etc., in the remaining right and the left hands. In the samples of the second category Śiva is seen as holding Śeṣanāga in the uppermost right and left hands and playing on a *vīṇā* in the normal pair.

Of the four Naṭarāja images of the same genre three depict the god as holding the snake Śeṣanāga in his uppermost pair of hands, apart from the usual ornaments, *abhaya-mudrā* and attributes like ḍamarū, triśūla etc., in the remaining right and left hands. In this respect these examples are similar to those of the Bengal school of Type III in which Śiva is noticeably shown with a serpent held by his upraised back hands. Besides, all these reliefs are closely affiliated to their Bengal counterparts, so far as the main pair of hands of the god is concerned. In one instance, the Brahmeśvara temple relief, the divine dancer is seen as playing on a viṇā by his normal pair of hands, again a noticeable feature of the Bengal images (cr. Type III).

The major difference between the Bengal and Orissan groups in question lies in the fact that while the former portrays in most instances Śiva-Naṭarāja in the company of Gaurī and Gaṅgā or Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the latter omits these female attendants completely from the compositions. The Orissan pieces show male figures like Agnī and Vāyu or dancers and musicians as the attendants of the god. Besides, none of these four Orissan reliefs depict Śiva-Naṭarāja with a pair of his hands clasped over his head or as holding a khaḍga in his uppermost right hand.

The foregoing discussion thus points to a common source of icono-plastic stimulus behind the Naṭarāja-on-the-bull type of images which earned popularity in eastern India, particularly eastern Bengal. But where did this source lie? And when did this type emerge? As an answer to the first question it may be suggested that the type of Naṭarāja under discussion originated somewhere in the western sector of British Bengal, in as much as the earliest of them, datable to the early 10th century, has been discovered near Durgapur in West Bengal. Another piece, chronologically distanced from it by more than a century, also comes from West Bengal, although from its southern most part, and these two examples, taken together, indicate the prevalence of the worship of Śiva-Naṭarāja of the present genre among a section of inhabitants of West Bengal in the early medieval times. But the discovery of a comparatively fair number of such Naṭarāja figures in the area now included in Bangladesh, especially in its Dhaka-Comilla sector, attests to

their popularity. And indeed they became the established iconic type of Śiva-Naṭarāja in Bengal. The trend was, however, set in West Bengal, as evidenced by the aforesaid Durgapur image of the early 10th century. In other words, the type in question emerged in the early 10th century.

The close nexus between the Naṭarāja-on-the-bull icons of the Bengal and Orissan schools of art may prompt us to ponder over the debtor-creditor question as to their origin. Chronologically, all the surviving specimens of the Bengal school are earlier than those of the Orissan. The earliest Orissan example has been met with on the wall of the 11th century Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneśwar. Therefore, the type which seemingly originated in the western sector of Bengal and later gained popularity in its eastern and northern sectors, spread to Orissa and also to Tripura and Assam. But a close look at an eight-armed Naṭarāja image, hailing from Asanapat, Keonjhar district of Orissa, datable to the early 7th century will be rewarding and revealing, although it shows the god as dancing on the ground. It strongly suggests by some of its features that the Bengal artists received ideas and inspiration in making their characteristic Nataraja images. The two noteworthy features, in addition to his bull-mount placed to his left and the expected *ūrdhavaliṅga* trait, of the Asanapat relief are the Śeṣanāga and *viṇā*; the lord of the dance is holding the former in his upraised rear hands and the musical instrument in the normal pair of hands. Of them again the serpent-in-the-uppermost-hands became a recurrent feature in many a subsequent specimens of Orissan art, as instanced by a contemporary piece (probably of the 7th-century) carved on a window grill, now housed in a small shrine at the western end of the compound of the 9th century Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar or another relief carved on the eastern facade of the curvilinear spire of the same shrine. In any case, on account of both the features of the above noted Asanapat image we may reasonably believe that though Śiva-dancing-on-the-bull images became typical of the Bengal icono-plastic repertoire in the early medieval times, at the initial stage of their growth and development the Orissan artists provided a source of ideas and inspiration to their Bengal brethren.

GLOSSARY

Abhaya, Abhaya-mudra	Never fear hand pose showing fingers raised upwards with the palm turned to front

Akṣasutra, Akṣamala	Rosary.
Bhujanga-trāsita	A mode of dance in which the left leg is raised and bent and the body weight is placed on the right leg.
Catura	A dance pose in which the left leg is raised, though the toes remain on the ground.
Dikpāla	A guardian of a quarter (e.g., Indra of the east, Varuṇa of the west).
Ḍamarū	Kettle-drum resembling an hour-glass.
Dola-hasta	See *gaja-hasta.*
Gaja-hasta	A mudra (sv) showing the right arm thrown across the chest so as to simulate the proboscis of an elephant.
Jagamohana	Front porch of a temple, a term used in Orissan silpa (art) texts.
Jaṭāmukuṭa	Matted-hair serving as crown.
Kamaṇḍalu	Water-pot
Kancidama	Waist-girdle.
Khaḍga	Sword
Khaṭvānga	A club made of the bone of the forearm of the leg, more probably of the thighbone, to the end of which a human skull is attached through its forearm.
Kheṭaka	Shield.
Lalita	A mode of dance with the right leg raised but the toes remain on the ground.
Mudra	Hand-pose or hand-gesture.
Pāśa	Noose.
Prabhā, Prabhāvalī	Aureole.
Ratha	Projection
Saptaratha	Seven-fold projection of the base of the pedestal of an image of the tower of a temple.
Sruk	Sacrificial ladle.
Śūla	Lance.
Triśūla	Trident.
Ūrdhvajānu	
Ūrdhvalinga	Penis erect, suggestive of the control of sexual desire, a characteristic trait of Śiva.
Viṇā	Lyre.

NOTES

1. Most probably it was carried off to Tamilnadu by the army of Rajendra Cola as a war trophy. The Cola invasion in Bengal took place sometime between A.D. 1021 and 1023.
2. To this earliest and iconographically important piece, till unnoticed and lying in neglect *in situ* near a Śiva temple at Bamunara, my attention was drawn by my former pupil Smt.Uma Mukhopadhyay (Mrs. Chakrabarty) and her father, Professor Nirmalendu Mukhopadhyay, kindly supplied me a photograph of the same.
3. The gesture may be described as *haṁsasyamudrā*. See Balakrishna Menon, *Indian Classical Dances*, Rabindra-Bharati University, Calcutta, 1967, fig. 23.
4. The image was discovered in April 1980 and the news of its discovery appeared on the fourth page of the *Dainik Samvad* dated April 18, 1980.
5. This is the only specimen cast in metal. And this was brought to its present site by Rajendra-Cola in the early eleventh century. C. Sivaramamurti wrongly describes it as a sixteen-armed image (Naṭarāja, p. 304). He calls it a magnificent sculpture (*Ibid*).
6. This image has been published by Mukhtesur Rahman in the *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 6, 1980-81, p. 99, pl. 7.
7. An example hailing from Khowai, Tripura, seems to be an import from the Comilla region. Information about this piece has been obtained from Dr. Ratna Das, formerly the Curator of the Government Museum, Agartala.
   The best Assamese specimen has been found at Ambari, Guwahati. It is of the ten-handed variety and is datable to the late 14th century.
8. For the photograph see *Orissa Historical Research Journal* XIII, 3, 1965 and also Thomas E. Donaldson, *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, III, Leiden, 1987, fig. 3592. For the thirteen-line epigraph inscribed below the representation of the god, see *ibid*, 2, pp. 1-18. S.N. Rajaguru, who first edited this inscription, wrongly dated it to the 4th century on palaeographical grounds. Later Dr. Snigdha Tripathy edited it in the *Journal of Orissan History*, Vol. I, No. 2; it has also been edited by D.C. Sircar, in 9, XL, pp. 121-126 alongwith the photograph of the image.

18

A STUDY ON THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE

KAILASH CHANDRA DASH

(I)

Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, a Herodotus of the advanced studies on the Orissan history, culture and archaeology, in his last phase of life wrote in his brilliant text *History of Orissa* : "It will be seen that the legends which have come down to us about the origin of Jagannātha are of highly conflicting nature. They can give us no true history of Jagannātha. The matter-of-fact of history of Lord Jagannātha can be reconstructed only when some corroborating evidences are obtained from the more reliable sources like epigraphical records and coins or from the objects obtained from a systematic excavation somewhere at Puri. Till then the history of the origin of this great Hindu shrine will continue to be a guess work".[1]

Scholars have now an opportunity to present an authenticated (though not exhaustive) account on the early phase of the Jagannātha cult and the temple on the basis of the archaeological sources. Legends also constitute an important aspect of the study on the Jagannātha cult, although these legends should be tested scientifically for a correct analysis. With due regard to the cogent viewpoint of K.C. Panigrahi we have proposed in this paper to present an account of the association of the Gaṅga King Coḍagaṅga in the construction of the stupendous temple of Jagannātha and its art and architecture on the basis of the more reliable epigraphical records.

(II)

The Dhāma of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha is an important sacred centre in India. It is presented as an important Hindu centre at the all-South Asian level

in the classificatory scheme for Hindu sacred centres by James J. Preston.[2] The huge temple of Śrī Puruṣottama in this Kṣetra (place) was the lasting contribution of the period of Coḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078 to 1147), the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty in Orissa. There is at present no reference to the construction of a gigantic temple by the King Coḍagaṅga in his epigraphical records. Even the Orissan tradition is silent about this glorious deed of the Gaṅga king. But his achievement has been recorded in the copper plate grant of 1198 A.D. found from the village Dasgoba which was issued by his grandson Rājarāja III.[3] This is the earliest copper plate grant (so far discovered) to highlight the temple building activity of the Gaṅga king.

The verses of the record stated above describe that only Gaṅgeśvara could construct a suitable palace for a god like Puruṣottama whose feet are the earth, the navel the mid region, the head the heaven, the ears the directions and the two eyes the Sun and the Moon respectively.[4] The previous kings neglected the job since they hesitated thinking "who can build a befittingly huge and majestic palace" for such a god who is identical with the Universe itself.[5] Another verse of the same copper plate grant states the joy of Puruṣottama and his consort Lakṣmī at the construction of the temple.[6] Before the construction of this residence, Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama lived in the milk ocean.[7] But since ocean is the birth-place of Laksmī, Puruṣottama felt rather ashamed of living there, as he knew very well that a respectable person is not accorded honour if he lives as a son-in-law in his father-in-law's house.[8] He was therefore very much pleased to get a new abode for himself and also his wife Laksmī found a suitable place to live in along with her husband considering it much preferable to her father's house.

The verses of the record stated above credit Coḍagaṅga as the builder of the temple of Śrī Puruṣottama and the same seems to suggest that there was no temple for the deity in the pre-Gaṅga period. This was the view of the German historian H.V. Stietencron in his paper published in 1977.[10] But he changed this interpretation in the paper published in 1978 and stated that the later Gaṅga inscriptions from the Dasgoba copper plate grant of Rājarāja III onwards are wrong when they claim all the merit for Coḍagaṅga as the first builder of the temple of Puruṣottama.[11] In fact, there was a temple for Puruṣottama in the pre-Gaṅga period which has been confirmed by the scholars mentioned in several literary and epigraphical sources.[12] The

composer of the verses of the copper plate grant of 1198 A.D. was also conscious about the existence of a temple for Śrī Puruṣottama in the pre-Gaṅga period when he stated that Puruṣottama was living in the ocean, his father-in-law's house before the construction of a temple by Gaṅgeśvara-Coḍagaṅga. It clearly indicates that the early temple of Puruṣottama did not exist at the site where Coḍagaṅga constructed the giant temple. It was for that reason in some other copper plate records of the Gaṅga kings "Vāsa was written instead of Dhāma.[13] Dhāma can be interpreted as the whole area in a wider sense; but Vāsa or residence is within the Dhāma".

There are two important reasons for the description of the residence of Puruṣottama in the ocean in the pre-Gaṅga period in the copper plate grants of the later Gaṅga kings.

(I) The place where the temple existed in the pre-Gaṅga period was near the sea and was not very far away from the *Gaṅga* king's temple.

(II) That temple was pulled down to the ground during the period of the construction of the gigantic temple by Coḍagaṅga.

During the period of the Gaṅga king Rājarāja III no remains of the old temple were left. It tempted the composer of the verses of Dasgoba copper plate grant to state in unmistakable terms that there was no temple for Viṣṇu Puruṣottama till the period of Coḍagaṅga. We may also conclude from the existence of the other Śaiva Temples of the pre-Coḍagaṅga period in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra till to-day that the early temple for Puruṣottama on the seashore had been consciously pulled down to give the credit only to the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga for the construction of the temple.

We do not have positive evidences on the exact location of the Puruṣottama temple before the period of Coḍagaṅga. But literary references can be properly utilised for the purpose. The Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa, a work of the Gaṅga period, describes the history of the Puruṣottama Kṣetra. It describes the whole Kṣetra as Nīlagiri and accepts Indradyumna as the builder of the temple of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. The role of the political/feudal power in the development of the Kṣetra on the seashore of Utkala which was once dominated by a tribal section has been presented in this Purāṇic section through the Indradyumna legend. A study of the Indradyumna Legend helps us to conclude that the original shrine of Puruṣottama which existed on the seashore has been faintly remembered

during the period of the composition of this text. The Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa states that the servants of King Indradyumna saw the wooden frame (*dāru rūpa*) of Lord Jagannātha on the sea-shore near Bilveśvara.[14] It also describes the Guṇḍicā zone as the fatherland of Jagannātha. We can conclude from this that the site near the seashore (specially the Guṇḍicā zone and the Bilveśvara temple) was associated with the early history of the Jagannātha cult. This conclusion is further supported by the Narasiṁha Kṣetra near the Gundicā zone and the Indradyumna Sara, both of them were related to the formative phase of the Jagannātha cult. Still we hesitate to point to the exact site on this zone as the first seat of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as more reliable materials are not with us.

The Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa gives an account of the temple building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra from the 11th century A.D. H.V. Stietencron on the basis of the versions of the Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa states that Gaṅgeśvara-Coḍagaṅga was the first Indradyumna who started building the temple, but he probably did not live to see its completion. His view-point is;

"The Utkala Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa mentions the garbha-pratiṣṭhā of the temple. This term has been wrongly taken to denote the consecration of the temple. But this is not so. It refers to a stage in the building of the main temple tower when the foundations have been built and the level of the garbha-gṛha is reached. Now the interior space of the garbha-gṛha which also determines the width of the uppermost portions of the temple tower, is precisely measured. The first layer of stones for its walls are joined with utmost care. And the rite of garbha-pratiṣṭhā is performed. It is after the completion of this rite that work starts on the raising of the temple walls. The Utkala Khaṇḍa tells us that this work was not yet completed when the king ascended to heaven, i.e., died. It also describes how the king, while in heaven is worried about the proper continuation of the building activities[15]."

The learned writer has properly interpreted the versions of Utkala Khaṇḍa, but his conclusion is not correct. The composer of the Utkala Khaṇḍa (Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa) had combined the building activities in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra in the pre-Gaṅga period with that of the period of Coḍagaṅga. But during the period of the composition of this text (probably after 13th century A.D.) the first phase of the Jagannātha cult was forgotten

by the people and therefore, the composer only stated about the development of this Kṣetra from the last phase of the Somavaṁśi rule in Utkala (from the period of Yayāti II). We get this conclusion from a particular reference in the Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. It is related to the construction of a temple for Narasiṁha by Indradyumna before undertaking the work of the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama.[16] The Narasiṁha temple built by Indradyumna exists in the compound of the present Jagannātha temple. It was under a thick coat of plaster till 1984-85. The Archaeological Survey of India has now successfully removed the plaster from the bāḍa (base) and the gaṇḍi (upper structure) of the temple as a result of which a pañcha-ratha structure constructed probably in the A.D. 11th century can be clearly shown to all. The inscriptions of Coḍagaṅga during the first phase of his Utkala campaign recording grants to Puruṣottama have been found on the northern flank of the entrance portal of the temple which indicate that the temple existed before the conquest of Utkala by Coḍagaṅga.[17] I am tempted to suggest that this temple of Narasiṁha was constructed during the period of Yayāti II, the Somavaṁśi king (A.D. 1020-40) who was described as the representative of Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) in a record of his successor in Orissa.[18] This reference indicates about the patronage of Vaiṣṇava faith by Yayāti II. This Yayāti after the construction of the Narasiṁha temple probably began the construction of a temple for Puruṣottama near it. He might have been successful in raising part of the temple, but after his death the temple for Puruṣottama could not be completed. It was for that reason the place could not be the centre of worship of Śri Puruṣottama during the period of the later Somavaṁśi kings in Orissa. The indifference of the successors of Yayāti II to Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra led to the gradual decay of the incomplete temple for Puruṣottama. The composer of the verses of the copper plate record of A.D. 1198 might have been aware of this fact as he stated that the earlier kings before Coḍagaṅga neglected the construction of the Puruṣottama temple. When the king Coḍagaṅga began the construction of a stupendous temple in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, a temple existed there in an incomplete form and Puruṣottama was being worshipped in another temple near the seashore of this Kṣetra. Coḍagaṅga might have ordered to pull down the old incomplete Somavaṁśi temple before he made necessary arrangements for the construction of a gigantic temple on it.[19] Therefore, in the Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa Coḍagaṅga has not been described as the first

Indradyumna to undertake the temple building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra. The view of H.V. Stietencron cannot be accepted for this reason. The composer of the Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa did not give any break between the building activities in the pre-Gaṅga period in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra and that of the time of Coḍagaṅga.

The period when Codagaṅga started building the temple and when the same was completed by him, are the two problems in this context. Scholars think that Coḍagaṅga started the construction of the temple after A.D.1135 when he completed all his campaigns.[20] In fact, Coḍagaṅga was busy in the conquest of the kingdoms in South Eastern India from A.D. 1126 or after A.D. 1135. But we come to know from the epigraphical evidences that he was in Vihārapāṭaka for holy bath in Jāhnavī from A.D. 1137 to A.D. 1142 and so the construction of the temple could begin after his return from that place.[21] This is impossible because he could not be able to complete the construction of the huge temple within four years. The record of A.D. 1198 states that he completed the construction of the temple during this period. Moreover, how could Coḍagaṅga proceed to Vihārapāṭaka for holy bath neglecting the task of the temple construction? Therefore it will be logical to suggest that he had completed the construction of the base and the superstructure of the giant temple before A.D. 1126.

Coḍagaṅga was a staunch Śaiva in his early royal career in Kaḷiṅga. His copper plate grants dated upto A.D. 1096 refer to "*Parama-Māheśvara*" as the only official imperial religious epithet.[22] But it was only in the copper plate grant of A.D. 1108 (discovered from Mukhalingam) that he was attributed with the imperial religious epithet *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* after *Parama-Māheśvara* which was also repeated in the Korni copper plate grant of A.D. 1113.[23] So we can conclude that Coḍagaṅga became an official follower of Vaiṣṇavism during the period from A.D. 1094 to A.D. 1108.[24] The copper plate grant of A.D. 1108 refers to the first conquest of the Utkala kingdom by King Coḍagaṅga. It only refers to the fact that he restored the former fallen king of Utkala in his kingdom.[25] The record of the year 1096 (A.D. 1096) does not state this achievement of the Gaṅga king.[26] So the support to the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement by the king was closely connected with his conquest of the Utkala kingdom. It can be suggested that Coḍagaṅga had probably visited the Puruṣottama Kṣetra after A.D. 1096, but before A.D. 1108 during the

period of his Utkala campaign. Thus he came to know about the Puruṣottama cult during that time. But he was not the sovereign ruler of Utkala during that period; he had only restored the fallen ruler of Utkala.[27] So from the constitutional point of view, the Somavaṁśi rule was still there. But a part of Utkala (which includes Bhubaneswar-Prācī-Kuśabhadrā zone and the Puruṣottama Kṣetra) was under the direct control of the Gaṅga king during that phase.[28] The other part of the Utkala kingdom (Mahānadī being the boundary of it) was under the direct control of the Somavaṁśi king-Purañjaya and Karṇadeva. Therefore Coḍagaṅga did not undertake temple-building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra during this period even though he was a patron of Vaiṣṇavism. The king began his scheme of the temple construction in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra after his final conquest of the Utkala kingdom in about A.D. 1112-14.[29] He took interest in the work of the temple construction in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra after considering it from two sides.

(1) Śaivism became the most important religious force in the Utkala kingdom during the period of the Somavaṁśī king who were the Śaivas. After the construction of the huge temple for Bhuvaneśvara-Liṅgarāja it became the lasting witness of the deepest regard of the Somavaṁśī kings for Śaivism. Śaivism was the most powerful religious force in Orissa although the Somavaṁśī kings were sympathetic to the worship of Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu.[30] Coḍagaṅga could have marked the indifference of the Somavaṁśi king to the temple building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra during the first phase of his conquest of Utkala many years before 1108 A.D.[31] He might have been informed about this fact by the Vaiṣṇavas of Utkala. Therefore after the final conquest of the Utkala kingdom he decided to erect a gigantic temple for Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama which would strengthen his power in the conquered kingdom.

(II) Some scholars have suggested that Coḍagaṅga's regard and support for Vaiṣṇavism was a political decision.[32] According to this view, the Gaṅga king was not converted by Rāmānuja, the Vaiṣṇava saint, into a Vaiṣṇava. In fact, Coḍagaṅga was not converted into a Vaiṣṇava; he was influenced by Rāmānuja. The association of Coḍagaṅga with the saint Rāmānuja could have been possible during the period from A.D. 1096 A.D. to 1108. Rāmānuja's visit to Puruṣottama Kṣetra has been recorded in the literary works and the event was true.[33] There is no epigraphical evidence regarding the connection

of Rāmānuja with Coḍagaṅga. The self-banishment of Rāmānuja from the Cola country from A.D. 1096 has been accepted by many scholars.[34] This self-banishment was the consequence of the anti-Vaiṣṇava activity of the Cola king described as Krimikaṇṭha Cola. This Cola king has been identified by many scholars with Kulottuṅga I.[35] But Kulottuṅga I did not exhibit anti-Vaiṣṇava feeling during his reign. According to the Mallavaram copper plate grant of the Veṅgi governor Parāntaka (the son of Kulottuṅga I) Kulottuṅga went to Hastigrāma in Kanchipuram and he got his son Parāntaka as a boon given by the Lord.[36] It may now be suggested that Kulottuṅga was a devout Vaiṣṇava and a great devotee of Varadarājasvāmi. So it is difficult to believe that he had indulged in the persecution of Rāmānuja and the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. On the basis of several other arguments B.R. Gopal comes to the conclusion that it was Kulottuṅga II (A.D. 1135-1150) who really did exhibit an anti-Vaiṣṇava feeling in course of the renovation of the temple at Chidamvaram and that the events of the period of Kulottuṅga II persisted in memory and later the legends came to be woven around Śrī Rāmānuja.[37] On the basis of the *Rāmānuja divya caritam* of Pillai-Lokanjiyar, B.R. Gopal concludes that Rāmānuja fled to the Hoysala kingdom in A.D. 1138 and returned to Sri Rangam in A.D. 1150 whereafter in A.D. 1155-56 he completed *Śrī Bhāsya.*[38] This will of course revise the year of his birth which is traditionally accepted as A.D. 1018. We may give due importance to his life for 120 years on the basis of the *Guruparamparā;* but taking A.D. 1156 as the year of his death we may state that his year of birth was about A.D. 1036. Thus we may conclude from this discussion that Rāmānuja did not proceed to Karnataka for his self-banishment from A.D. 1096 and that he was present during this period in Sri Rangam. In that case he must have taken interest in the propagation of his faith in Kaliṅga which was the main seat of the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga. We like to state that Rāmānuja might have informed Coḍagaṅga about his failure in bringing about changes in the mode of worship and the nature of the image in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra during the period of his visit. Then Coḍagaṅga came to know about the significance of Vaiṣṇavism and the Puruṣottama Kṣetra. The conversion of Sri Kurmam in the kingdom of Coḍagaṅga into a Vaiṣṇava centre by Rāmānuja was an event of the reign of the king before his 28th regnal year. [39] From this point of view I presume that Coḍagāṅga got his first hand information about the Puruṣottama Kṣetra from Rāmānuja.

Afterwards he conquered the Utkala kingdom and thought about the temple building project in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra.

The final conquest of Utkala by the king Coḍagaṅga was an event of the period from A.D. 1112-13 to 1113-14. This achievement has been recorded in the two copper plate grants of A.D. 1118.[40] In the copper plate grant of 1129 A.D. the king states that he allowed the king Karṇadeva into the battlefield, defeated him and annihilated the sovereignty of the Utkala empire.[41] So Utkala became an important part of the kingdom of Coḍagaṅga before A.D. 1118 and after A.D. 1113. Coḍagaṅga did not conquer any kingdom in South Eastern India during the years from A.D. 1114 to 1124. The conquest of the kingdoms like Veṅgi, Daṇḍabhukti, Dakṣiṇa-Kosala and Mandarādri was completed by him between the years from A.D. 1124-25 to A.D. 1135.[42] The Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI defeated the Cola king and brought Veṅgi under his direct control from A.D. 1118-20.[43] But during this period an expansionist like Coḍagaṅga could not like to control Veṅgi. It is strange that being a great warrior he could not take any part in the Cola-Cālukya war during these years. He occupied Veṅgi after the death of Vikramāditya VI during the period of the Cālukya king Someśvara III sometime before A.D. 1128.[44] It does not mean that he was afraid of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Also an important part of his scheme for the formation of an empire was to make Godāvarī its frontier. So I presume that from A.D. 1114 to 1124 Coḍagaṅga devoted himself to the temple building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra and he could not give his attention to the Cola-Cālukya war. The construction of a gigantic temple in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra would have been an important step for the consolidation of his power in the Kaliṅga-Utkala kingdom. The expansion of his kingdom towards Veṅgi (the Godāvarī delta) would have been secondary to him during this period. We have evidences about the connection of the king with the Puruṣottama Kṣetra during this period. (i) According to the copper plate grants of A.D. 1118 Coḍagaṅga who was Parama-Vaiṣṇava (but not Parama-Māheśvara) granted villages to his officers while staying with the inhabitants of Sindurapura.[45] This Sindurapura has been identified with the Puruṣottama Kṣetra or a part of it on the basis of the name Nīlasundaragiri of the Muṣalī Parva of the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dās.[46] (ii) The Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple inscription states that the provision for the *Gaṅga-bhoga* of Śrī Puruṣottama was made in the 37th aṅka (regnal year) of the king Coḍagaṅga.[47] (iii) The Narasiṁha temple inscription (inside the

compound of the Jagannātha temple) dated in the Śaka year 1035 (A.D. 1113) refers to a provision for a perpetual lamp for the deity Puruṣottama by an officer of the king Coḍagaṅga.[48]

Taking all these evidences into consideration it may be presumed that Coḍagaṅga was busy in the work of the construction of the huge temple for Puruṣottama during the period from A.D. 1114 to 1124. During that time the deity Puruṣottama and his associates worshipped somewhere near the Guṇḍicā zone in a temple were probably brought to the Narasiṁha temple by the order of Coḍagaṅga and fresh arrangements were made for the worship of the deity in the Narasiṁha temple till the new and the imposing edifice was completed. This hypothesis is based on the inscriptions of the Narasiṁha temple inside the present Jagannātha temple. There are several inscriptions on the walls, base and the entrance door jambs of this temple. Some of these inscriptions refer to the donations to Puruṣottama and his associates during the Gaṅga period. Some of the inscriptions of the period of Coḍagaṅga atleast from A.D. 1113 refer to the provisions for the worship of Puruṣottama. A careful study of the inscriptions in the Narasiṁha temple indicates that the donations to Puruṣottama were granted by the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga and his officers in the Śaka year 1035 (A.D. 1113) and again in the years from A.D. 1126-38. There is a gap of about ten years (A.D. 1114-15 to A.D. 1126) during which period we do not find inscriptions of the Gaṅga king and his officers recording grants to Puruṣottama. From this we presume that the construction of the huge temple for Puruṣottama was in progress during this phase (A.D. 1114-15 to 1124) for which pilgrims/devotees/royal officers could not enter into the temple of Narasiṁha to record their grants to Puruṣottama. It might also be that Puruṣottama worship was restricted during this period because of the construction of a suitable palace for the deity. Hence we may take these years (A.D. 1114-5 to 1124-25) as the real phase when the Vimāna and the Jagamohana of the Puruṣottama temple were constructed by the order of the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga.

The inscriptions of the Narasiṁha shrine definitely refer to the fact that the period of Coḍagaṅga witnessed the extra-ordinary popularity of Puruṣottama in the Orissan religious thought structure. Some of the early inscriptions of the period of Coḍagaṅga are found on the northern flank of the entrance portal of this temple.[49] One of these inscriptions is dated in the Śaka

year 1035 (expressed as *Śara-Loka-khendu gaṇite*). The inscription refers to the grant of Nārāyaṇa, an officer of the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga. It refers to the grant of five *Niṣkas* (Coins) for a lamp to Puruṣottama on the occasion of *Mahādvādaśī* (Pious day). Above this inscription there is another inscription of the period of Coḍagaṅga which is dated in the same Śaka year. It states; *Śakābde Sara vishṭapa dyau Śaśi no Śrī Coḍagaṅgaprabhor-bhṛtya Śrī Puruṣottamāya Vibhavī Nārāyaṇa* prādād-dvipamakhaṇḍabati. The record refers to Bibhavin Nārāyaṇa (Wealthy Nārāyaṇa) who was the *bhṛtya* (Servant) of Śrī Coḍagaṅgaprabho (the king Coḍagaṅga himself).[50] It refers to the grant of *akhaṇḍabati* (Perpetual lamp) in the *Mahādvādaśī* and the arrangement for it (grant of five *Niṣkas* for the supply of ghee to the lamp) which was entrusted to *Mālākārakuṭumbina* (the members of the families whose work was to collect flowers and to make garlands). Above it there is another inscription which states about the grant of a perpetual lamp on the occasion of *Vijayādvādaśī* and the grant of *Niṣka* for the supply of ghee to the lamp. In the bottom portion of the same door jamb there is another inscription of the period of Coḍagaṅga who is described as *Śrī Parama Māheśvara Parama Bhaṭṭāraka Gaṅgakulatilaka Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Another inscription on the western flank of the northern wall refers to *Pravardhamāna vijayarājya* of Coḍagaṅga and is dated in *Śakābde Vasu-bāṇa-khendu gaṇite* or the Śaka year 1058 (A.D. 1136). It refers to the *dīpa-dāna* (gift of a lamp) on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa dvādaśī.

There are numerous inscriptions written in Telugu and Nagarī script on the three sides of a pillar in the south wall in the Narasiṁha temple which describe the various provisions for the worship of Puruṣottama and his associates during the Gaṅga period. In the middle side of the pillar there is an inscription which states that Coḍagaṅga granted lamps to Śrīmat Puruṣottama and the arrangement was entrusted to the people of Māluda of Jalakhaṇḍa *viṣaya* (present village Malud near Chilka). Below this there is a fragmented inscription of the period of Coḍagaṅga and is dated in the Śaka year 1046. It records the king's grant to Puruṣottama. On the left side of the pillar there is an inscription in Telugu script which refers to Narasiṁha. On the right side of the pillar there is an inscription which seems to stipulate the payment of five māḍhas (coins) to the people of the village Vasanasada of a certain Viṣaya (district) for the deity Puruṣottama. The last line contains the name of a person belonging to *Cālukyānvaya* (of Cālukya line). The second line of this

inscription states Śrī Puruṣottama Dhāmate (the Puruṣottama Kṣetra). In the left side there is a Telugu inscription of seven lines. The first three lines state:

Varuṣaṁ vulu 1048 ya-
Meṣa, Śukla 10 yu Guru-
Śrī Puruṣottamadeva (Dhāma)

The last four lines appear to be the subject matter of the grant. It refers to the supply of ghee for the lamp of Puruṣottama. The date of the inscription is in the Śaka year 1048, Meṣa, Śukla 10, Thursday corresponding to March 24, 1127 A.D. On the right side of the pillar there is an inscription of Nāgarī script which seems to state the gift of a perpetual lamp in favour of God Puruṣottama by Nāgadeva, an officer of the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga.[51] There are about seventeen inscriptions on the pillar of the temple which record the provisions for the regular worship of Puruṣottama by the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga and his officers. These inscriptions in the Narasiṁha temple definitely inform us that from the period of the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga the cult of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha gained extra-ordinary popularity in the religious thought process of Orissa. The king Coḍagaṅga could become a glorious figure in the mediaeval India for all his donations to the deity Puruṣottama and for the magnificent temple for the same.

(III)

The Vimāna and the Jagamohana of the present Jagannātha temple stand to-day as the lasting witness of the grand architectural passion of Coḍagaṅga. In the construction of this stupendous monument the Gaṅga king earnestly followed the canons of the Kaliṅga temple architecture. He had intense regard for Oriya life and culture and so he had employed the architects and the sculptors of Utkala who had gained sufficient practical knowledge from their predecessors on the constructional designs of the lofty structures in Bhubanesvara. His aim was to popularise the worship of Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama in Orissa by making such a structure which would be the tallest one up to his period in Orissa and would overshadow the architectural masterpieces of the Somavaṁśi kings.

The architectural and the sculptural features of this giant temple were hidden under a thick coat of plaster for which it was popularly called the White Pagoda.[52] In 1975 the temple was declared as a National Monument and the Archaeological Survey of India was entrusted to carry out the

preservation work. It has now started removing the plaster from the main temple; the Jagamohana is still under numerous coats of plaster. The Vimāna stands from a plinth (Pişta) of five feet and two inches in height.[53] On the three sides of the Vimāna are three storeyed pidha temples containing the figures of Vāmana, Narasiṁha and Varāha respectively and these structures form integral parts of the original scheme.[54] The height of the Vimāna above the road level to the top of the stone final is two hundred fifteen feet and eight inches.[55]

The Pañchāṅga bāḍa of the main temple is similar in design with that of Kṛttivāsa-Liṅgarāja in Bhubaneswar. It has a five-fold vertical division such as *Pābhāga*, lower *jaṅghā*, *Bandhana*, upper jaṅghā and Varanda.[56] The *pābhāga* consists of five mouldings, namely *khurā*, *kumbha*, *paṭā*, *kaṇi* and *vasanta*. These mouldings are continuous and add to the strength and the dignity of the scheme.[57] The mouldings are connected by vertical bands. The *khurās* have niches in the central facets capped by *Vajra-muṇḍis*.[58] The massive *Jaṅghā* is divided by *vandhana* consisting of three mouldings connected at places by vertical bands. Lower *jaṅghā* has Khākara *muṇḍis* in the *Kanika* and *anuraha*. The upper *jaṅghā* has *piḍha muṇḍis*.

Basically the plan of the gaṅḍi follows the programme of Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara, although a slightly different *Śilpa Śāstra* had been used for the scheme. It is divided into four conventional parts, the *rāhā*, *anuratha*, *pratiratha* and *kanikapāgas* with horizontal fret courses emphasised and vertical bands in level plans with very little off set between any two though essentially a pañcharatha outline.[59] A large aṅgaśikhara is carved in the flat portion of the *kanika* and it is above the *varanda*. The flat portion of the *kanika* of the Liṅgarāja temple has no aṅgaśikhara and there is a continuation of bhūmi-amala in it. In the Brahmeśvara, an *aṅga-śikhara* is carved which is a part of the *kanika pāga*. The multiple *varanda* mouldings from the base of the gaṇḍi, but they do not demarcate the bāḍa from the gaṇḍi which is a feature of the Orissan temple architecture.[60] The *kanika* is wide, rounded and projecting.[61] It is divided into ten *bhūmis*. Most of the *bhumi* divisions appear to be additionally sub-divided by a projecting ring which lacks ribs.[62] The anartha has three *aṅga-śikharas* super imposed in a vertical alignment beginning at the level of the second bhumi.[63] The first bhūmi of the raha has a horizontal alignment of four *aṅga-śikharas* two on each side of the

projecting motif of Garuḍa pouncing upon a crouching elephant which crowns the *vajra-mastaka* carved on the *varanda*. This is a new feature of the Jagannātha temple because in the Brahmeśvara there is a large *aṅga-śikhara* in the baranda and in the Liṅgarāja the mouldings are left plain. The *amalaka* is supported by *Dopichhā siṁhas* at the corners and the image of the Garuḍa above the *rāhā*.

The Jagamohana stands on a plinth of six feet and three inches in height.[64] It is a pañcha-ratha *pīḍha* temple and is modelled on that of Liṅgarāja. It is now under the thick coats of plaster, but the over-all plan is visible. The *bāḍa* is of five divisions. The *jaṅghā* is divided by a single *bandhana*. There are *stambhas* in the *jaṅghā* and between them in the lower jaṅghā there are niches in the shape of miniature *piḍha* shrines and above them appear *khākhara mundis*. In the upper *jaṅghā* there is a *pīḍha* shrine, in the lowest part of the wall in the *anuratha* portion below the *jaṅghā* are four stambhas carved side by side. In the middle of the stambhas there is a miniature *piḍha* shrine and above it there is a *khākharā muṇḍi*. There are multiple *piḍhas* piled up in the form of a pyramid above the *jaṅghā*. The piḍhas are arranged in two groups with an intervening section called Kaṇṭi. The apex begins with beki the *ghaṇṭā, amala, a khapuri*, a *kalaśa* and the *āyudha cakra*.

The main structure of the Jagannātha temple consisting of Vimāna and Jagamohana presents an elaborate decorative programme which highlights its artistic significance. But unfortunately the sculptural programme of the Jagamohana and the *gaṇḍi* cannot be presented as long as the thick layers of plaster are not removed from them. Only the sculptural features of the *bāḍa* can be described. The decoration of the *bāḍa* falls into two categories:

(I) relating to the icoṇs, (II) relating to the decorative aspects. (I) The first category of sculptures include the representation of Pārśvadevatās, Parivāra-devatās and the various events connected with the life of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.[64a]. The pārśva-devatās like Vāmana, Narasiṁha and Varāha are carved in the northern, western and the southern part. The corner *Khākharā muṇḍis* contain seated figures of eight dikpalas while those of the anuratha have seated *ācāryas*. The sight of the *gocaraṇa* of the Gopālas indicative of the early life of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is represented in the basement in the western side of the *bāḍa*. In the southern wall in the niche of the upper *jaṅghā* of the *anartha*,

the icon of Kāliyadalana Gopāla is sculptured. In the north wall in the upper *jaṅghā* of the anartha portion, there is a niche which contains the image of Veṇu-Gopāla or Veṇunātha. Standing in flexion, Kṛṣṇa is seen here playing on his flute. He is accompanied by *gopīs* on the two sides. This decoration of Kṛṣṇa themes in the *bāḍa* of the Jagannātha temple built during the first twentyfive years of the A.D. 12th century definitely declares the unmistakable fact that the visitors have to go through an impressive sight of the remarkable aspects of Kṛṣṇa cult before having a glance at the unusual shape of Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, the presiding deity of the Kṣetra. Also it is an interesting attempt to link the Jagannātha cult with the Kṛṣṇa themes even in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Numerous Viṣṇu images have been carved in various forms in the niches of the bāḍa which constitute an essential part of its decoration. These icons, both seated and standing, possess a type of serenity which is an important feature of the main deity Śri Puruṣottama worshipped in the Dhāma. They are very expressive and their grave poses indicate the ghastly atmosphere of bloody battles. In the north wall, in a niche below the flat portion of the *kanika*, the icon of seated Viṣṇu with four arms is carved. In the upper *jaṅghā* in the *anartha* of the same wall, there is the standing image with two hands. It may be identical with a *parivāradevatā* connected with Viṣṇu. There is a mutilated image of Viṣṇu in a niche of the upper *jaṅghā* in the same side. In the *rāhā pāga* below the *baranda* in the two niches standing Viṣṇu icons with four arms have been sculptured. There is also the icon of Nārāyaṇa in a niche of the north wall. The Lord Viṣṇu seats on a pedestal with ease. He holds a lotus and a club in his upper hands, a conch and a discuss in his lower hands. Below his right legs are the Viṣṇugaṇas with hands in *añjali* pose. In the western side, there are also numerous Viṣṇu icons. In the upper *jaṅghā* there is the representation of Buddha, but the face is hidden. The icon of Kalkī is also represented in a niche of the upper *jaṅghā*. Kalkī is mounted on a horse. He holds a sword in one hand and holds the reins of the horse with the other. The images of several Viṣṇu icons have also been carved in the south wall, but they are badly damaged and beyond identification. (II) The decorative motifs of the wall include fauna, flora, male and female figures, semi-divine beings such as *gandharvas, yakṣas* and *kinnaras, caitya* arches and others.

The best specimens of sculpture are the depiction of natural scenery. The Orissan sculptor is reputed for his true representation of foliage, birds and other animals.[65] The physical environment of Orissa with its wild forests supplies the inspiration for these motifs.[66] The variegated creepers, the different animals and the birds furnish the various motifs of art in the walls of the temple. All available spaces in the walls and the basements have been occupied by this decoration indicating a love for pictorial art.

The creeper receives great attention in the decorative programme of the wall. The creepers with human figures clinging to alternate sides decorate the sides of the niches, the basement and the piṣta. Various animals and the birds with creepers constitute a part of the decoration of the wall and are profusely available in the four sides of the giant *jaṅghās* of the wall. Among the animals, the elephants, the lions, the deer and the horses have been decorated in various parts of the wall. The elephant is the common motif used in the walls of the temple. The *piṣta* is adorned with a series of elephants in a vicious war procession. The panels of war elephants in a row form part of the decorative aspects of the *jaṅghās* and the niches. The elephants, according to ancient Hindu tradition, are supposed to guard the four quarters.[67] The practice of using the elephants as a decorative motif of the plinth of the temple had its origin in this conception.[68] Like elephants, horses with their riders in a war procession also constitute a part of the decoration of the wall. Besides elephants, horses, lions and deers we find cows, the great companion of Kṛṣṇa, figure in the basement. Figures of men and women in diverse poses constitute an important part of the decoration of the wall. K.C. Panigrahi remarks; "The female figures are the most beautiful products of Orissan plastic art. Each of them is like a piece of love poem written on stone, which occuring alongside the serious scenes of religious significance, the stereotyped forms of cult images or the obscene figures of shameless voluptous poses, provides a diversion and relief to the visitors".[69] The text of the *Śilpaprakāśa* illustrates sixteen types of female figures which decorate the temple walls and some of them are present in the bāḍa of the Jagannātha temple.[70] In the recesses of the *jaṅghā* we find the representation of such figures in various forms and poses like holding a baby, drawing an anklet from her left and drawing down towards her the branch of a tree. The exquisite forms of the kanyās add to the artistic vigour of the bāḍa. Female

attendants in the homes of the nobles and the kings have also been carved in the various niches of the walls. The figures of dancers and musicians, both male and female are also important part of the decorative programme of the wall. Such figures have been elegantly carved in the rectangular niches of the leaf-like strip that joins the various divisions of the pabhaga. Besides there are decoration of the *gaṅas* and *vidyādharas* which very often flank the *piḍha muṇḍi.*

The motif of foliated arch constitutes a large part of the decoration. In this form known as "Bho" in Orissan terminology, there is the *kīrttimukha* with pearl strings issuing from its mouth which form themselves into concentric circles. Inside the innermost circle, the emblem of a flower or a human face or a bell is placed. This form of arch is decorated in the Jagannātha temple. In the *khākharā muṇḍi,* we find *Kīrttimukha* patterns are represented in a circular row with long pearl strings emanating from them. When these pearl strings are joined together, they make uniform paraboles. This motif is used on the sides of the *rāhāpāga* of the wall of the Liṅgarāja temple and is also extensively used on the pisṭa of the Jagannātha temple.

As the temple was plastered over with lime and sand, the early writer on Orissan history could not find its importance in the architectural and sculptural domain. Fergusson was therefore tempted to state; "How this fame came to be raised by the new sovereign Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva in a style inferior to those of the previous dynasty must be matters of conjecture. As fresh conquerors, the Gaṅgas might have accumulated wealth; and moreover they would also certainly employ architects of their own race, who were already known to them. These, coming from the Deccan would naturally adopt the leading features of the temples of their native province in preference even to the best traits of the earlier structures.[71]

R.D. Banerji has refuted this statement: "We have no reason to suppose that Anantavarma Coḍagaṅgadeva adopted a new style in the temple of Jagannātha. His connection with Gaṅgavāḍi had ceased long centuries ago; but even in Gaṅgavāḍi proper temples of the style of Jagannātha of Puri are totally unknown. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva was certainly richer than the poor Somavaṁśis of Kosala and he spent lavishly on the shrine of his tutelary deity.[72] Banerji has different reasons for the decline of the artistic value of the temple of Jagannātha. He states that the degeneration of the style, both of

architecture and art in the temple of Jagannātha is due entirely to the general degeneration throughout the country at the close of the 11th century A.D.[73] At this time the political condition of the country was deplorable; the southern chiefs fighting continually with the northerners and the Somavaṁśīs having lost all power and finally all Orissan chiefs having succumbed to the attacks of the Eastern Gaṅgas.[74] It was just at the close of this period that the Vimāna and the Jagamohana of the temple of Jagannātha were erected. Art does not thrive in such an atmosphere and architecture stagnates".[75] The degenerate art and the architecture of the temple of Jagannātha is solely due to contemporaneous unrest and consequent stagnation of the fine arts.[76]

R.D. Banerji has no doubt presented an important cause for the decline of the art and architecture of the temple, but it is hardly useful in this context. As the temple was under a thick coat of plaster, the scholars could not assess its artistic significance. But the occupation of the Utkala throne after the extirpation of the Somavaṁśi rule by Coḍagaṅga was mostly appreciated by the important sections of the society of the time. A gigantic structure for Viṣṇu-Puruṣottama was pressing need of the king the legitimation of his power and a great desire of the people for the consecration of Puruṣottama as the presiding deity in the Orissan religious thought structure. Hence he got maximum co-operation from the artists and the sculptors of Utkala for his noble deed. No doubt the temple was gargantuan in structure but then it was accepted as the model to the other religious structures like Konarka and the Simhachalam of the Gaṅga period. We can conclude with the views of K.S. Behera "With exquisite carvings on the *bāḍa*, the temple of Jagannātha is without doubt one of the most beautiful temples of Orissa. The temple does not indicate any decline in creative impulse; on the contrary it is an important landmark in the progressive course of the evolution of the Orissan temple architecture".[77]

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3. Dasgoba Copper plate grant of Rājarāja III, *Epigraphia Indica* (EI), Vol. XXXI, p. 255, verse-29.

4. The relevant verses are as follows:

   "Pādau yasya dharāntarikṣam akhilaṁ nābhiścha sarva diśaḥ
   śrotre netrayugaṁ Rabīnduyugalam mūrdhāpi ca dyaur-asau/
   Prāsādaṁ Puruṣottamasya nṛpatiḥ ko nāma kartuṁ kṣamaḥ
   . tasyetyādyanṛpair-upekṣitam-imam chakretha Gaṅgeśvaraḥ//

   I have accepted the translation of this verse as given by G.C. Tripathy. See "On the concept of Puruṣottama in the Āgamas", "The Cult of Jagannāth and the Regional Tradition of Orissa" (CJRTO), edited by Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathy, 1978/1986, Chapter-II, p. 41.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 41-42.

   "Lakṣmī janamagṛhaṁ Payonidhir-asau sambhāvitasya sthir-
   no dhāmni śvaśurasya pūjyata iti-Khirābdhivāsad-dhruvam/
   nirviṇṇaḥ Puruṣottamaḥ pramuditas-tadvāsalābhād Ramāpy-
   etadbhartṛgṛhaṁ varaṁ pitṛgṛhāt prāpya pramodānvitā//
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
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    (viii) H.V. Stietencron, *CJRTO*, p. 16-21.
    (ix)S.C. Tripathy, *CJRTO*, p. 36-41.
13. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa* (10), Vol. V, part-II, p. 503.
    Mukunda Row, N; *Three grants from Ragolu, Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1983, p. 28.
14. "Dakṣine taṭabhūdeśe Vilveśvara samīpataḥ.
    niyuktā sevakā Rājñā sasambhramamupastitāḥ/
    Devadṛvto mahān vṛkṣastaṭabhūmau Mahodadhe/
    praviṣṭagraḥ Samudrāntaḥ kallola plavamūlakaḥ//
    Skanda Purāṇa, Purusottama Khaṇḍa, 18th chapter, Śloka 4 to 6.

15. H.V. Stietencron, "Early temples of Jagannātha in Orissa", CJRTO, p. 76.
16. *Puruṣottama Khaṇḍa* (*Skanda Purāṇa*), Chapter-XVI.
17. The inscriptions of the period of Coḍaganga can be seen in the pābhāga (base), the entrance door jambs and in the different parts of the temple walls. One such inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1035 (Śara-Loka-khendu gaṇite).
18. Narasimhapur copper plate grant of Udyotakeśari, 10, Vol. IV, p. 227. It describes Yayāti II as "Pratinidhi Madhusūdanasya".
19. The Rājabhoga of Mādalāpāñji refers to this fact when it states that the temple of Yayāti Keśari was pulled down to the ground during the period of Anangabhīma for building a huge temple for the deity Puruṣottama on it. The composer might have wrongly used the name of Anangabhīma instead of Coḍaganga as during the period of the compilation of the Pāñji (after about 16th century A.D.) the Orissa tradition did not associate Coḍaganga with the temple building activity in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra. See Mādalāpāñji, Utkala University, 1969, p. 30. *Deula Tolā* (Temple construction), a text composed by Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, also refers to this fact:

    "Śankhanābhi maṇḍale deula tolaila
    Sāthie hāta deula Pātāle potila
    Biśāśahe hāta se deula uchā kala"

    "Indraduymna constructed a huge temple after pulling down a small temple in Śankhanābhi maṇḍala (Puruṣottama Kṣetra).
20. D.C. Sircar, op. cit. p. 75.
    M.K. Mahtab, op. cit. p. 204
    H.V. Stietencron, "Early temples of Jagannātha in Orissa" *CJRTO*, p. 74.
21. For Coḍaganga's presence in Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the river Jāhnavī near Mandarādri see China badamu copper plate grant of 1140 A.D. *Epigraphia Andhrica (EA)*, Andhra Pradesh government Museum, Hyderabad, Vol. II, p. 71-72.
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22. Adapaka copper plate grant of A.D. 1096, *Bharati* (Telugu Journal), 1954, October, p. 431-432.
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23. Mukhalingam copper plate grant of A.D. 1108, EA, Vol. IV, p. 47.
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25. Kailash Chandra Dash, "A study on the conquest of Utkala by the Ganga king Coḍaganga", *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXI, No. II, III, IV, p. 132.
26. Adapaka copper plate grant of A.D. 1096, *Bharati*, October, 1954, p. 431-432.
27. Kailash Chandra Dash, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXI, No. II, III, IV, p. 131-142.

28. After the first invasion of Utkala Codaganga had probably authority over a part of Utkala, like the Śaiva centre at Bhubanesvara and the Prachi-Kuśabhadra zone upto the Purusottama Ksetra. The record of Karṇadeva describes his real control over a part of Utkala beyond the other side of the river Mahanadi (probably the present areas of Cuttack-Balasore and a part of Mayurbhanja). See EI, Vol. XXXIII, p. 263-74. Panigrahi, K.C., *Chronology of the Bhauma-karas and the Somavamśis of Orissa*, 1961/1979, p. 38.
29. For the final conquest of the Somavamśi kingdom see Kailash Chandra Dash, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXI, No. II, III, IV, p. 137.
30. G.N. Dash,"The evolution of the priestly power: The Gangavamśa period, *CJRTO*, p. 159-161.
31. Kailash Chandra Dash, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 and 4, p. 72-74.
32. Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, H.V. Stietencron, G.C. Tripathy and G.N. Dash in their papers have given importance to this view. See "*The cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*", 1978, Manohar Publication, Delhi.
33. G.N. Dash, "The evolution of the priestly power: The Gangavamśa period", *CJRTO*, p. 157-158.
34. A.Govindacharya, *The life of Rāmānujācharya*, 1906, Madras, p. 142. J.D.M. Derret, *The Hoysalas: A Mediaeval Indian Royal family*, Madras, 1957, p. 222. Hermann Kulke, "Early Royal Patronage of the Jagannātha cult" *CJRTO*, p. 145. G.N. Dash, op. cit. *CJRTO*, p. 159.
35. For details regarding the identification of Krimikantha Chola with Kulottunga I see Gopal, B.R. "*Śri Rāmānuja in Karnataka*: An Epigraphical study, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1983, p. 7.
36. *Mallavaram copper plate grant of Parāntaka, Copper plate inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, Hyderabad, 1972, p. 109.
37. B.R. Gopal, op. cit. p. 8.
38. *Ibid*, p. 9.
39. The earliest inscription of Sri Kurmam (so far known to the scholars) is dated in the Śaka year 1035. But it refers to the 28th Śrāhi (Regnal year) of Codaganga. S.N. Rajaguru suggests that the Śaka year 1035 is correct, the Śrāhi 28 is wrong. He makes it 38 for the sake of his Śaka year. See 10, Vol. III, part-I, No. 59. But there are evidences that in the Śaka year 1036 the Śrāhi/Samvat of Codaganga was calculated as 37 and hence the acceptance of 28 as 38 for the sake of the Śaka year 1035 is not based upon fact. See EI, Vol. XXX, p. 29. It is true that the counting of the dates in the votive inscriptions was sometimes wrong. The inscription in Sri Kurmam is non-official and records the grant of "Teliki-Vevuru" (Teliki community) which might have known the Śrāhi year 28 correctly while the Śaka year was wrongly counted by them which might be 1025. Thus accepting 28 Śrāhi we can calculate the date of the inscription which is about A.D. 1103. The Mukhalingam temple inscription of the Śaka year 1024 (A.D. 1102-3) refers to the 28th Śrāhi (Regnal year) of Codaganga. Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. III, Part-I, No.

44. Even if one accepts the Śaka year 1035 as correct, the inscription does indicate that it became a Vaiṣṇava centre only from that year which is the view of H.V. Stietencron. See Stietencron, H.C. *CJRTO*, p. 25. It only records the grant of "Teliki-Vevuru" for Viṣṇu-Kurmanātha which indicates that by the date of that grant the deity had gained extra-ordinary popularity in Kaliṅga and so its conversion could be much earlier. We may therefore presume that Sri Kurmam became a Vaiṣṇva centre in the early years of the first decade of 12th century A.D.

40. Vizagapatam plates of 1118 A.D. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, No. 180; Palakonda plates of 1118 A.D. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1935-36.
41. "Temburu copper plate grant of A.D. 1129", *Bharati*, August, 1968, p. 12.
42. Kailash Chandra Dash, Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga Deva and his Times (A.D. 1078-1147), Unpublished thesis of Utkala University, Bhubaneswar, Chapter-III.
43. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 207, 258 and 331; Epigraphical Series No. 4, Andhra Pradesh Government Report on Epigraphy for 1966, p. 92.
44. Temburu copper plate grant of A.D. 1129 records the conflicting relationship of Coḍagaṅga with Someśvara III. *Bharati*, August, 1968, p. 12. Draksarama temple inscriptions of the period of Coḍagaṅga dated in Śaka year 1050 refer to his authority over the Godāvarī zone by that year. See 10, Vol. III, part-I, No. 98 to 105.
45. See No. 40.
46. Kailash Chandra Dash, *OHRJ*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3 and 4, p. 75.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple inscription, *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 184. D.C. Sircar thinks that Niralo grāma was utilised for the "*aṅga-bhoga*" of Purusiottama in the pre-Coḍagaṅga period. But it is wrong. The correct meaning of the verses is that Sādhu Bhīmadeva, Rudra and Hari who received the grant from Coḍagaṅga for the *aṅga-bhoga* of Śri Puruṣottama and for the "*akhaṇḍa-dīpa*" of Śrī Mārkaṇḍeśvara in his 37th regnal year were the residents of the village Niralo.

48. The inscriptions in the Narasiṁha temple have not been edited. I have gone through these inscriptions in the temple. A preliminary on-the-spot study of the inscriptions has been made by Karuna Sagara Behera (Professor in the Department of History, Utkal University, Bhubanesvara) and Satyanarayana Rajaguru (Epigraphist) in 1988. For the views of Behera and Rajaguru see "Orissa Past and Present", edited by Gour Prasad Pattanaik, Bhubaneswar, Vol. I, No. II, p. 114-117.
49. *Ibid.*
50. This is my reading of the inscription and its interpretation. K.S. Behera states that Coḍagaṅga has been extolled as "*Prabhorbhṛtya Śrī Puruṣottamāya Vibhave*" which is not correct. The phrase "*Sri Puruṣottamāya" here means* "To Puruṣottama", but not "Of Puruṣottama". It does not describe Codagaṅga as the bhṛtya (servant) of Puruṣottama. It refers to the grant of Nārāyaṇa who is described as the *bhṛtya* (servant) of Coḍagaṅga. It refers to the grant of Nārāyana who is

described as the *bhṛtya* (servant) of Codagangaprabho (the king Codaganga himself). Nārāyana is probably attributed with the epithet Vibhavin (Wealthy). The grant of Nārayana is the subject-matter of the inscription.

51. For Nāgadeva See 10, Vol. III, part-I, No. 184.
52. K.S. Behera, "Bāda of the Bāda deula of Jagannātha at Puri" *Journal of Orissa Research Society*, Bhubaneswar, Vol. I, No. 2, p. I-II.
53. M.M. Ganguli, *Orissa and her remains*, 1910, p. 4-12.
54. K.S. Behera, op. cit. p. I.
55. M.M. Ganguli, op. cit. p. 416-17.
56. K.S. Behera, op. cit. p. 1.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Early Kalinga Art and Architecture*, 1984, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, p. 244.
60. An interesting analysis of the super structure of the Jagannātha temple has been presented by Thomas Donaldson. See his paper "Decorative program of the super structure of the Orissan Rekha-deula", in "*Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*", edited by M.N. Das, Vidyapuri, Cuttack, 1977, p. 593.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. M.M. Ganguli, op. cit. p. 416-17.

64.(a) K.S. Behera, op. cit. p. 1.
The sculptured friezes of the Pata mostly depict episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. Noteworthy among these are Sakata bhanga, Kāliya-dalana, lifting of Govardhana, fighting with Keśin, Kubalaya Aritsa etc.".

65. K. Sundaram. *The Simhachalam Temple, Simhachalam Devasthanam*, Waltair, 1969, p. 175.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, 1981, p. 109.
70. Vidya Dehejia, *Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, p. 69.
71. Fergusson, T., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* Vol. II, London, 1910, p. 108-109.
72. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 1931, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 373.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. K.S. Behera, op. cit. p. 11.

19

A COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF THE BRAHMA CĀLUKYA KING SAṄGAMEŚVARA ŚAKA 1181

S. SUBRAMONIA IYER & N. NANJUNDASWAMY

The subjoined copper plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was examined by Sri N. Nanjundaswamy during his official tour to Bombay in the month of December, 1986. The charter is now lying in the office of the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bombay. Its findspot is, however, not known. The charter is edited from the excellent set of photographs provided by the Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, to whom our thanks are due.

The set consists of three copper plates rectangular in shape. The first and the last plates are engraved only on their inner sides while the second plate is engraved on both the sides. The first plate has 14 lines of writing while the second has 14 lines of writing each both on its reverse and obverse sides while the third plate has 17 lines of writing on its inner side. Thus the copper plate charter has in total 59 lines of writing. The engraving has been done neatly. To protect the writing, the rims of the plates have been slightly raised. There is a circular hole incised on all the three plates evidently for a copper ring to pass through to fasten them all. Since there is no seal now available, it is not known whether the charter had ever any seal.

The composer Govinda does not seem to possess an adequate knowledge in Sanskrit and is unable to express himself well in that language as for instance *mahā-dhārmikeṇa bhūtvā* for *mahā-dhārmikeṇa bhujyamānaṁ* in

line 30, *yathā dātā śreyo bhūpāloko-pi bhaviṣyati* for *yathā dātā tathā anumantā pi śreyo-bhūpāloko bhaviṣyati* in lines 39-40. The engraver exhibits carelessness in engraving such as the omission of *anusvāras, visargas,* engraving incorrectly the letters as *rādha* for *rāya* in line 24, *vrikṣa* for *vṛkṣa* in line 31, omission of letters as *brasvaṁ* for *brahmasvaṁ* in line 52, repetition of words such as *saṅkrānti* in lines 33-34 and in one instance even the second half of a verse in the imprecatory portion as in line 47. The doubling of *v* is seen in three instances at the beginning of words viz., *vveṭakāra* in lines 23-24, *Vvapadevarāya* in line 25 and *vvahubhir* in line 35 which feature appears to be noteworthy in the present charter.

The characters are Nāgarī and are regular for the period to which the present charter belongs. The language is Sanskrit. The date is given right at the beginning of the charter itself being Śaka 1181, the first day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa while the week day was Monday and the cyclic year Siddhārthi which regularly corresponds to 17th November, 1259 A.D., according to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris. The text of the charter is mainly in prose with the usual imprecatory portion in verse. The charter begins with a description of king Saṅgameśvara who is endowed with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. He is described as the lord of Kalyāṇapura, and is stated to belong to the Brahma-Cālukya family. He is also described as the sun to the lotus bud like Cālukya family and as pure as Bhīśma (*Śauca-Gāṅgeya*). His royal insignia was the gold boar (*suvarṇa-varāha-lāñchana*). After the description of king Saṅgameśvara (1.2-13) one Vvapadevarāya is introduced. He is stated to be the worshipper of god Kedāradeva and is endowed with a string of titles like *rāya Sāhasamalla, vveṭakāra, dharaṇī-varāha*, etc. He is said to have granted the village Āsaravāṭa as *sarvamānya* together with clusters of trees, the right to collect additional taxes, fines, *mārgaṇaka* (a kind of cess or tax) and all internal income (*sarv-ābhyanitara-siddhāya*) to the *mahājaṇas* including the *prabhu-mukhyas* probably of the same gifted village for the feeding of the brāhmaṇas on the occasion of *Viṣuva-saṅkrānti*. The grant was made before the presence of god Kedāradeva, the family deity of Vvapadevarāya to which reference has already been made earlier. This is followed by the usual prayer to future kings not to tamper with the grant - and by five imprecatory verses. Besides, the first half of one imprecatory is also engraved. Then follows the statement

that the charter was written by Govinda. The charter concludes with the auspicious words *maṅgala[ṁ] mahā-Śrī[ḥ].*

The primary importance of the charter lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time a king by name Saṅgameśvara who is stated to belong to a hitherto unknown family called Brahma-Cālukya and the lord of Kalyāṇapura. He is further described as the sun to the lotus bud like Cālukya family which shows indirectly his affinity with the Cālukya family. The name Brahma-Cālukya is interesting. One is reminded in this connection of the fact that the Pallavas claim to belong to Brahma-kṣatra-kula.[1] The Kalyāṇa-Cālukyas had ceased to exist after 1200 A.D.[2], the last known date of the last ruler of that dynasty viz., Someśvara IV. The description of Saṅgameśvara as the lord of Kalyāṇapura can give us a clue as to the region over which Saṅgameśvara might have ruled. The ancient capital of the Kalyāṇa Cālukyas was known as Kalyāṇapura in inscriptions from as early as 1048 A.D. If Kalyāṇapura mentioned in the present charter is identical with the ancient Kalyāṇapura, the capital of the Kalyāṇa Cālukyas, one can then surmise that the Brahma Cālukyas might have ruled from Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇapura after the eclipse of the Kalyāna Cālukyas. It is also not impossible to postulate that the Brahma Cālukya family might have had some connection with the erstwhile Kalyāṇa Cālukya family. However, it cannot be said in the present state of our knowledge the extent of the region over which Saṅgameśvara ruled or his forebears or successors if any ruling before or after him.

In the charter, there is the reference to a chief called Vvapadevarāya who actually made the grant. The epithet *vveṭakāra* attributed to him is interesting and in this connection one is reminded of the famous Vijayanagara king Devarāya II who was given the sobriquet *gajaveṭṭakāra* in recognition of his valour in subduing the wild elephants.[3] Possibly, Vvapadevarāya was a great hunter as evident from the epithet. One important point to be surmised from this epithet is that Vvapadevarāya belonged to the south. It is however, not clear from the grant as to what region he held sway and the capital of his fiefdom. The statement that he was a worshipper of god Kedāradeva and the grant was made by him in His presence shows that Kedāradeva was his family deity. It is however, not possible to identify god Kedāradeva in the absence of any other evidence pertaining to the location of the place wherein Kedāradeva's temple was situated. It is further stated in the charter that the

grant was made on the occasion of Viṣuva-Saṅkrānti. According to the solar system of reckoning, there are two Viṣuva-Saṅkrāntis called Tulā and Meṣa-Saṅkrāntis falling respectively in the solar months of Tulā (Kārttika) and Meṣa (Caitra).[4] In Śaka 1181, the Tulā-Saṅkrānti might have fallen either on 28th or on 29th of September 1259 A.D. on which date the grant of the village was actually made by the chief Vvapadevarāya. The charter was however, issued on 17th November sometime after the actual day of the grant. It is, however, not possible to identify the granted village in view of the absence of the mention of the *viṣaya* under which it is situated or the names of the neighbouring villages which bordered the granted village in the charter under review. The statement that the grant was made to the *mahājanas* of Āsaravāṭa including the *prabhu-mukhyas* is interesting as it shows that the *prabhu-mukhyas* formed an important segment of the village elite.

TEXT[5]

First Plate, reverse.

1. 11 Svasti śrī [11*] Śaku (ka) 1181 varṣe Siddhārtha-saṁ-
2. vatsare Caitra-śuddha 1 Some ady=eha śrī -
3. matu-Saṁgameśvara-mahārājādhirā-
4. ja - parameśvara Kalyāṇa-pura-
5. var-ādhīśvara Brahma - Cālukya - vaṁś-o-
6. dbhava Cālukya-kula-kamala-ka-
7. likā- vikāsa - bhāskara suva -
8. ṇa - varāha - laṁchana-dhvaja satya -
9. ratnākara śaraṇ-āgata - vajra-
10. paṁjara ārtta - trāṇa - parāyaṇa
11. dīna - nātha-samudhdharaṇa marya -
12. dā - mahodadhi para - nārī - sa -
13. hodara śauca - Gaṁgedha (ya)/Ā -
14. jñā - Rāma - pratijñā - Para -

Second Plate, obverse.

15. sa (śu) rāma / ekāṁgavīra raṇa -
16. raṁga-dhīra / nirbhayamalla sāhas-o-
17. ttuṁga / mahā - māheśvara / śrī-Kedā -
18. ra-deva-caraṇa-kamala-prasāda -
19. n-ārādhan-opacārād=avāpta -
20. parama - rājy-eśvara / apratihat-ātyaṁ -
21. ta - mati - kīrtti - pratāpa-prasara /

22. raṇa - ramga - nāṭika - sūtradhara / rā -
23. ya dharaṇī - varāha rāya vvetaka -
24. ra ripu - rādha (ya) - sāhasamalla / śrī -
25. Vvapa-devarāya / Atr-aiva / śrī-pra -
26. bhu-mukhya-mahājanasya śāsanaṁ praya -
27. cchati yathā / śrī-Kedāra - deva
28. sannidhau viṣuva-sankrānti-pa-

Second Plate, reverse.

29 rvaṇi paramayā bhaktyā mahā-dha-
30. rmikeṇa bhutvā (jyamānaṁ) Āsaravāḍa - grā -
31. maṁ sa-vri (vṛ) kṣa-māl-ākula [ṁ*] s-opa -
32. rikara - daṁḍa-doṣa-mārgaṇa - sahitaṁ
33. sarv-ābhyaṁtara-sidhāya saha / saṁkra -
34. nti / brāhmaṇa - bhojanārtha [ṁ*] / prabhu-mu-
35. khya - māhajānasya hast-odaka-pū-
36. rveṇa sarva-namasya=[ṁ*] dātavyaṁ / grā -
37. mo-ya[ṁ*] mātr-ānvaya-saṁbhūta-rājñā
38. apareṇa vā dhārmikeṇa bhū-
39. tvā pālanīya=[ṁ*] / yathā data śre -
40. ya - bhūpālako=pi bhaviṣyati[6] /
41. Vva(B) hubhir=vasudhā datta rājabhiḥ
42. Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya

Third Plate, obverse.

43. yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
44. phalaṁ (lam) [11*1] Sva-datta (ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ (ttaṁ) vā yo haretya (ta)
45. vasuṁdhara (rām) [1*] ṣaṣṭir=varṣa - sahasrāṇi viṣṭha -
46. yāṁ jāyate krimiḥ[7] [11*2] krimi-yoniṁ ta -
47. to gatvā cāṁḍāleṣv=avajāyate[8]
48. Hiraṇyam=ekaṁ gām-ekaṁ(kāṁ) bhūmyām=a-
49. py=ekam=aṁgulaṁ (lam) / haraṁ (ran) narakam=āyāṁti
50. yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) [1*3] Na viṣaṁ viṣa -
51. m=ity-āhu [ḥ*] brahmasvaṁ viṣam-ucyate /
52. viṣam-ekākino hanti bra[hma*]=svaṁ pu-
53. tra-pautrikaṁ(kam) 1[1*4] Mad=vaṁśa-jāta [ḥ*] para-vaṁ -
54. śa-jāta [ḥ*] pāpad-apeta-manaso bhu -
55. vi bhāva bhūtāḥ / ye pālayaāti ma -
56. ma - dharmam=idaṁ hi sarve tebhyo may [ā]
57. viracit=o[ñ*] jali-mūrdhnir-eṣa 11[5*]
58. Śrī-Goviṁdena likhyate / maṁga-
59. la[ṁ*] mahe (hā) śrī [ḥ*][11*]

REFERENCES

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p.f.n.
   In the Cola period, there was a class of generals of brāhmaṇa lineage who were endowed with the title *Brahmādhirāja*. In Karnataka also, in the inscriptions of the medieval period they figure. See N.N. Swamy, "Tekkalakota Inscription of Brahmādhirāja", *Studies in Indology* (*Dinesa-Chandrika*, pp. 82 ff).
2. *The Chālukyas of Kalyāna*, B.R. Gopal, ch. VIII, p. 331.
3. *History of South India*, K.A.N. Sastry, ch. XII, pp. 269-70.
4. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 58.
5. From impressions.
6. Possibly the writer of the charter has omitted to engrave the words *tathā anumanta=pi* immediately after the words *yatha dāta*. Otherwise the sentence does not yield any meaning.
7. The metre of the two verses is *Anuṣṭubh*.
8. Only the first half of the verse in *Anuṣṭubh* metre is engraved.
9. The metre of verses 3 and 4 *Anuṣṭubh*.

20

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF DEPLASTERING AND CONSERVATION OF THE JAGANNĀTH TEMPLE AT PURI

G.C. CHAULEY

The temple of Lord Jagannāth at Puri is the earliest monument of the Gaṅgā dynasty of Orissa. The monument stands on a high platform connected with the ground level by a flight of 22 steps. The edifice is massive and strong, and is a product of accumulated experiences of the past in temple architecture. The temple has two *prākāras.* The outer *prākāra* is known as Meghanāda *Prācīra*, measuring 202.70m X 196.29m and the inner one is *Kurmabeḍā*, measuring 121.92m X 84.73m. The outer wall possess four doorways in four cardinal directions having different names, viz., *Siṁhadvāra* on the east, *Hastidvāra* on the north, *Aśvadvāra* on the south and *Vyaghradvāra* on the west respectively. The temple of Lord Jagannāth is not only the largest but also the tallest surviving temple of Orissa, rising to a height of 200 feet.

The temple has all the four component parts, such as, *garbhagṛha, jagamohana, nāṭamandīra* and *bhoga-maṇḍapa.* Besides, subsidiary shrines are added on all the three sides, in the form of niches housing the *pārśvadevatās* such as, Trivikrama on the north, Narasiṁha on the west and Varāha on the south. During later days,they were transferred to separate subsidiary shrines with addition of superstructure.

Since the time of its construction till the year 1954, the repairs and maintenance of the temple were carried out by the local rulers. In 1954 this was looked after by a Committee appointed by the Government of Orissa in

accordance with the 'Jagannāth Temple Act of 1954'. The Committee found the problem of conservation in the form of profuse leakages inside the *garbhagṛha* and on the junction of *jagamohana* and the temple proper and the repairs of the temple were beyond its capacity. These leakages created disturbance in the day to day worship and rituals of the temple. The efforts of the Temple Committee proved to be a failure and the problem of leakage could not be tackled by them and as a result, the matter was referred to the Ministry of Culture, Government of India by the State Government and ultimately the Archaeological Survey of India was directed to examine the whole matter with the help of an Expert Committee constituted in 1973 on the Jagannāth Temple at Puri with Sri M.N. Despande, the then Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, as Chairman, the Secretary, Culture, Government of Orissa, the Collector, Puri, the Administrator, Jagannāth Temple, Puri, the chief Archaeological Chemist, Archaeological Survey of India, Archaeological Engineer, A.S.I. and the Superintendent, A.S.I., Eastern Circle, Calcutta were the members.

The first meeting was held on 24th and 25th September, 1973 and discussions were made on the various problems of damages and leakages of the temple. Since it was not a protected monument of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Collector of Puri raised the question of protection of the temple and felt that in the larger interest of the monument it would be desirable to have the monument protected by the Archaeological Survey of India. As recommended by this Committee, the temple of Lord Jagannāth, along with the temple complex was declared as a Centrally Protected Monument in 1975 by the Archaeological Survey of India. It took up the conservation work in 1975.

During the first meeting the members minutely checked the stability of the temple. Test checking was made at several places by removing the lime plaster and it was detected that underneath the thick coat of lime, there exist the beautiful carvings. Experts unanimously agreed that the present lime plaster which is becoming spongy may be the reason for profuse leakage, although some suggestions were made to remove the plaster in between the junction of *jagamohana* and the main temple to find out the source of leakage. Since beautiful and original carved architectural pieces are hidden underneath the plaster, it was decided that only skilled *mahārāṇas* or *sthapatis* are to be

employed for removal of the plaster and the work of deplastering and preservation has to be undertaken with miraculous care and it is a slow process, which ensures that the concealed part of the masonry containing sculptural surface is not damaged.

As a measure of experiment, the Archaeological Survey of India in 1975 took up the deplastering work of the Lakṣmī temple situated in the north-west corner of the Jagannāth temple. After complete deplastering, the original beauty of the temple with delicate carvings were brought to light. It was properly conserved by the way of changing the missing or damaged architectural pieces by grouting the voids, underpinning etc. It is felt that the iron dowels used to keep the stone blocks in their proper position have rusted and increased in volume, as a result chunk of stones are reported coming out of different parts of the temple. The same is the case on the Jagannāth temple. In the first Expert Committee Meeting, it was decided that all the exposed iron dowels should be removed and replaced by copper or stainless steel dowels. In order to keep the stone blocks and fragments in proper position, besides changing of dowels, the expert committee also suggested for the use of epoxy resin in the conservation of Jagannāth temple. The technical know-how of epoxy resin was to be obtained from the manufacturer of that resin. Even epoxy pointing and epoxy grouting were also recommended by the experts.

After the completion of the conservation work of the Lakṣmī temple, the deplastering of the temple of Lord Jagannāth was initiated by the Archaeological Survey of India. Because of the huge dimension of the temple, the deplastering was to be carried out with much care. It was not possible to deplaster the entire temple within one or two years. After the removal of plaster all around the temple, the exposed surface was to be properly conserved by grouting, underpinning, changing of dowels, replacing the damaged and worn out architectural pieces by new stone blocks. During the said meeting, it was also decided that no sculptural portion should be reproduced excepting the floral patterns and other geometric details, copied in outline before fixing them. Accordingly, the work started from the ground level of the temple. In the course of deplastering, the Archaeological Survey of India faced hostilities from the servitors of the temple as well as from the general public who felt that in the name of deplastering, the temple would be

destroyed. This public resentment compelled the Archaeological Survey of India to stop the work and was dragged to the Court. As per the injunction of the High Court, the work was suspended several times. But the Archaeological Survey of India was able to expose up to about 40' area from the ground level all around the Jagannāth temple, prior to the formation of the Bhubaneswar Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, in 1985. The work of deplastering was duly monitored by the Expert Committee. The experts inspected the work and further suggestions were extended in order to achieve accuracy in the work.

As per the direction of the Orissa High Court, the Central Government set up a Technical Expert Committee for the safety of the temple. The first meeting of this Committee was held at Puri on 21st April, 1985 with Sri M.S. Nagaraja Rao as the Chairman of the Committee, which examined the work already carried out, and recommended the future course of action. The Committee thereupon recommended deplastering of the *śikhara* to a height of 3.00 metres from the springing level all around the temple at a time. Detailed documentation, the documentation of the photographs and drawings were prepared. By the end of the year 1985, the injunction of the High Court was vacated and the Bhubaneswar Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India resumed the work of deplastering.

There are about 93 temples of medium and smaller size within the *Kurmabeḍā prākāra* of the Jagannāth temple complex and each one is covered by a coat of thick lime plaster. In the subsequent meeting of the Expert Committee, it was decided that apart from deplastering of the Jagannāth temple, one or two subsidiary shrines also to be taken up for the purpose of deplastering. Accordingly, after the Lakṣmi temple, the deplastering of the Narasiṁha, Sūrya and then the Vimalā temples would be taken up one after the other.

In 1985, after the formation of the Bhubaneswar Circle, it took up the deplastering of Lord Jagannāth temple above the varanda level, i.e., above the height of 40'. The deplastering of the Narasiṁha temple was also taken up simultaneously and completed by attending both structural conservation and chemical preservation plugging the leakage, resetting the dislodged masonry with epoxy resin, replacing the worn out and missing architectural members by newly carved stone blocks, removing impregnated salts from the exposed stones and strengthening them with preservative coat.

Though the work of deplastering resumed soon after the vacation of the injunction and the progress achieved on both the *śikharas* of the Jagannāth and the Narasiṁha temples, there were doubts about the advisability of the deplastering of lime coat from the outer walls of the temple. There was resentment among the people on this matter. The Hon'ble Chief Minister of Orissa felt the necessity of summoning a High Power Committee meeting on 18.6.1986 to have a thorough discussion on various aspects of the deplastering operation and other conservation measures. The Chief Minister in his introductory remarks underlined the importance of conservation of the temple of Lord Jagannāth at Puri and requested the officers and experts of the Archaeological Survey of India, in charge of the conservation of the ancient structure to offer their respective views. Sri Jagatpati Joshi, the then Additional Director General, Sri B.N. Tandon, Director (Science) and the present writer explained all the queries raised. The two most important points explained by Sri Jagatpati Joshi are noteworthy.

1. *Question* Does the deplastering of the temple weaken the structure as apprehended by the public?

Answer : The Additional Director General, Archaeological Survey of India explained that deplastering was necessary for strengthening the structure. The lime coats given to the temple centuries back had lost its binding effect and utility, did no more serve the purpose for which it was intended. Further it was revealed that the iron dowels fixed to the core with a view to prevent further widening of the cracks in the walls suffered oxidation causing damage to the walls due to their expansion which necessitated their replacement by clamps of stainless steel as done presently. He further explained that it was only after deplastering that the internal weakness of the structure could be detected and remedial measures taken. The cracks and crevices exposed after deplastering were being filled with slurry of conch lime with epoxy resin. By this process the strength of the structure could be enhanced.

2. *Question* Is it safe to deplaster the temple from the bottom?

Answer Sri Joshi explained that the deplastering from the top was not possible as the soundness of the core of the structure was to be

ascertained from the bottom on which the entire structure rested. He pointed out that if it was attempted from the top, the rain water seeping through the open portion of the plaster would widen the micro-cracks all over the plaster and might prove to be the potent source of leakage and destabilisation at the lower level. This would lead to loss of control over deplastering, resulting in the fall of chunks from above all of a sudden. Besides, the seepage of water from the deplastered surface might detach the different plaster layers, as many as 9 in number, and might prove to be highly dangerous. As such, deplastering from the bottom was safe and as the lower portion of the walls was first strengthened, it would prove strong enough to bear the load of the top portion.

Sri B.N. Tandon, Director (Science), Archaeological Survey of India, also explained the importance of chemical treatment of the structure which not only strengthen the stones, but also help reduce the effect of weathering condition due to humidity, variation of temperature, salinity of atmosphere, besides, effective life span of the chemical treatment. The chemical treatment of the stones is a process involving extraction of salt which is the texture of the stones. The fragile stones are consolidated to reduce their poresity and permeability. The chemically cleaned stones are then treated with fungicide coating followed by a preservative coat of thermoplastic resin. He further informed that the paper pulp treatment would be carried on the southern side to extract water soluble salts.

The Chief Minister, in his concluding remarks opined that the Archaeological Survey of India, being in charge of the temple of Lord Jagannāth, one of the most ancient and famous monuments of Orissa, would take all necessary measures for its proper conservation.

By and large, the general public had realised the importance of deplastering and gradually the hostilities of the *Paṇḍās* and local people faced by the Archaeological Survey of India was reduced. The officials were encouraged by the benign State Government and the generous public to expedite the progress as fast as possible. As a result, no further Court cases of suspension of work was faced by the Archaeological Survey of India.

In 1986-87, the deplastering work of the Sūrya temple situated in the northern side of the Jagannāth temple was taken up. The deplastering of this temple revealed the precarious condition of the temple architecture having vertical and horizontal cracks, k*anika-pāga* of the south-west corner, completely lost. Attempt was made to retain the originality by filling it with laterite stone blocks and then by adding plaster. The huge *Āmalaka-śilā* of the temple was also found shattered and voids were formed inside, as a result, there were regular complaints of leakage. After replacing the broken or missing architectural members one by one from all around, due attention was paid to the consolidation of the structure by grouting with combination of mortar. The *Āmalaka-śilā* including the *beki* was removed and reset properly after attending the consolidation of the *mastaka*. The work was very carefully and successfully completed and the originality of the Sūrya temple was restored.

Simultaneously, the deplastering and conservation works of the Gaṇeśa temple was taken up and expected to be completed by November, 1989.

According to the recommendations of the Sixth Expert Committee meeting held in July, 1985, the deplastering of the Jagannāth temple up to the limit of 3 metres, as prescribed, was completed by the end of 1986 above springing level, bringing to light the exquisitely carved workmanship. In 1987-88 and subsequently in 1989, the deplastering up to the height of 75 feet from the existing floor level was completed. It has revealed several major and minor vertical cracks on the southern side of the temple, besides, huge blocks of architectural members have been either found missing or existing *in situ* in bad condition at many places. The underpinning work was taken up and the replacement or refixing of the damaged or missing architectural members were in progress. Besides the use of epoxy resin, stainless steel dowels were also used to keep the stone blocks in their proper position.

The wooden hammer and different types of major and minor chisels are used in the removal of plaster and trained work supervisors and Archaeological Engineers always keep themselves alert on the work spot so that no damage is caused to the original carved surface of the temple hidden underneath the thick plaster.

A special dull-pink khondalite stone of superior quality is used in the construction of the Jagannāth temple as that of the Sun temple at Koṅarak.

Any major effect of salt action on the surface of the temple structure at Puri has not been noticed other than cracks and damages caused due to rusting of iron dowels, heavy pressure and weight of thick plaster. The special type of khondalite stones are being procured from the quarries at Tapang in the Puri district.

The practice of providing wooden support at the bottom of the overhanging plaster layer was discontinued by the author in view of their dislodgement or frequent fall due to insufficient space and disturbance caused by the monkeys. Instead of wooden poles we introduced a new device, the bottom of the overhanging thick plaster layer was gently dressed by shaping a bracket so as to act as cantilever and thereafter by combination of mortar to avoid the rough look, besides strengthening it. The effect has proved more durable and dependable. It also gives a pleasant look to the onlookers or spectators.

We will not go into the details of the controversies why and when the plaster was added. But it was very clear that plaster was existing on the outer wall of Jagannāth temple in the 17th century as European mariners used to call the white-washed lofty tower of Puri as White Pagoda while they used to cross Puri through sea routes and Black Pagoda to the Sun temple at Konarak.

The damages so far detected after deplastering, larger or smaller in dimensions, were due to rusting of iron dowels. The dowels have rusted, got expanded and increased in volume giving unusual pressure to the stone surface, causing fall of huge chunks from here and there. Since the Jagannāth temple has remained a renowned centre of pilgrimage through the ages, visited by thousands of pilgrims, the local rulers might have been induced to cover the outer surface with plaster filling up the existing cracks, voids and missing portions all round the temple, in order to retain its shape and outlines, and to avoid further damage and accident due to fall of stone blocks.

The deplastered surface of the Jagannāth temple has brought to light an array of sculptures and other decorative details. The minute designs and figurines have been carved and cut in stone with such consumate skill that they create almost an illusion of wood or ivory carvings. The high platform on which the temple stands is designed in the shape of a *khākharā muṇḍi* coming out in different projections forming the *pañca-ratha* plan. The lower portion of the platform contains the friezes of elephants, horses, camels and

procession of warriors. Above this, the remaining portion of the platform is decorated with scroll and floral designs and the top-most course of the platform is designed with the procession of horses and elephants. Above the platform, the original temple structure stands. The *pābhāga* portion having *pañcāṅga-bāda* divisions like *pāda, kumbha, paṭā, kaṇi* and *vasanta*. On the horizontal surface of the *pāṭā*, scenes from Lord Kṛṣṇa's life, such as, Kṛṣṇa lifting the Govardhana hill, killing the demon named Dhenukāsura, playing with the Gopis, his journey to Mathura on the chariot have been depicted.

On the front surface of the *vasanta*, the elephants and horses with riders are shown. Above the *pābhāga*, there is the *tala-jaṅghā* having miniature temple replicas with *khākharāmuṇḍis* shown projecting out from the *kanika-pāga, rāhā-pāga* and *anurāhā-pāga* walls. The front face of the miniature *khākharāmuṇḍi* shrines depict the figures of *dikpālas* or guardian deities of the directions such as, Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa, Iśāna, Agni and Vāyu. The miniature *khākharāmuṇḍi* shrines of the *anurāhā-pāga* depict the king's court, the king being seated on a *siṁhāsana*, accompanied by court ladies and courtesans, priest giving sermons to the devotees, teacher teaching the disciples. The two sides of each miniature shrines exhibit the figure of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa with Radha and with the herd of cows or playing flute, etc. The corner space in between the two *khākharāmuṇḍi* shrines within the *talajaṅghā* portion has been occupied by the giant figures of Gaja-Siṁha or the lion trampling over the elephant or the mythical animal Gaja-viḍāla having the body of a lion and the face of an elephant trampling over *apasmāra-puruṣa* or demon.

Of the eight *dik-pālas*, Indra, the guardian of the East is missing now as the whole shrine found damaged and later on restored by the Archaeological Survey of India during the time of conservation. The *vandhana* portion, the dividing line of *tala-jaṅghā* and upper *jaṅghā* are also carved in three prominent offsets, each is carved with creeper and foliage designs, procession of elephants, horses and warriors etc.

The upper *jaṅghā* portion all around the temple exhibits the miniature pidha-deul just above the *khākharāmuṇḍi* of the *talajaṅghā*. The front face of each *piḍha-deul* is occupied by figures of *Daśāvatāra* of Viṣṇu. They are not serially found due to irreparable damage caused in the past. In the south-east corner, Balarāma is exhibited and in the north-west Kalki and Buddha are also found intact.

The corner spaces in between the two *pidha deuls* of upper *jangha* is occupied by life-size sculptures of *Madanikās* and *Surasundarīs* with different postures. They are carved in round exhibiting superior workmanship, modelling, anatomy, ornamentation, feminine beauty with superb laughing countenance.

The varanda level wherefrom the *śikhara* takes an upward turn and forms curvilinear shape, exhibits ten horizontal offsets running parallel all around the temple. The 8th and 10th offset surfaces contain the friezes of swans with different postures and processions of warriors respectively. In front of each *rāhā-pāga* above the varanda level contains small niche inside of which is exhibited a figure of Viṣṇu made of black stone. Above this is the chaitya window motif with two demons on either side having beaded borders which is popularly known as *Bho-motif.* Above it projecting Gaja-Simha motifs are exhibited in all cardinal directions.

In the *Gaṇḍi* level, two *Bhumi-Amalas* have so far been exposed which also form parallel offsets running all around the temple surface wall decorated with creepers and floral designs.

The niches on the three cardinal directions below the varanda level contain the figures of Varāha, Narasiṁha and Trivikrama. A figure of Varāha, made out of black chlorite stone is exhibited on the niche of the southern side. This massive image is four-armed with usual *āyudhas* like *Cakra, Gadā* and *Padma.*

The figure of Narasiṁha has been exhibited on the western side niche. The figure holds *Gadā, Cakra* in the upper right hand and left arms. The lower hands are shown in the action of killing demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. This figure has also been made out of black chlorite stone and equally massive having a ferocious representation depicting open jaw, protruding teeth and tongue, bulging eyes, straight flowing manes at the back which have made the figure more dignified.

A figure of Trivikrama has been enshrined on the niche of the northern side which is also made of black chlorite stone. The original image was possibly damaged in the past and on the broken original platform a masonry pedestal of khondalite stone of about 1 metre height has been added and a small figure of Trivikrama has been installed. All the niches holding the *pārśva-devatās* were converted to miniature temples during the later period by

constructing high platforms with *piḍha śikharas* made of fresh blocks of sand stone, devoid of carvings. Their later incorporation was further established by the fact that the original carvings on both sides of the niches were hidden inside the later additions. These subsidiary shrines are presently serving as buttresses to strengthen the central shrine. On the outer wall, both sides of these shrines of the *pārśvadevatās*, are carved with figures of Viṣṇu depicting twenty four of his forms, such as Keśava, Mādhava, Dāmodara, Nārāyaṇa, Viṣnu etc.

As a matter of fact, the general pattern of the Jagannāth temple at Puri has close resemblance with the temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar. Presently, on each *Anurāhā-pāga*, miniature shrines are shown with plaster. So far, no *Aṅga-śikhara* or miniature shrine has been unveiled after deplastering as found in the Liṅgarāja temple and Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The presently existing miniature *śikharas* of plaster was most probably designed during the time of adding plaster to the temple in order to achieve a uniform pattern. Further deplastering may prove the authenticity of these miniature shrines as seen in the Liṅgarāja temple.

The deplastering and exposing of the original art and architecture of the Jagannāth temple at Puri have helped to a great extent to solve the confusion prevalent among the scholars that the temple was constructed at a time when the Kaliṅga artists had lost their workmanship and their artistic skill was degenerated.

Mention may be made of a series of donatory inscriptions discovered after deplastering, found engraved on the walls of the Narasiṁha temple within the premises of the Jagannāth temple. They are in Sanskrit, Gauḍīya, Telugu and Oriya languages. Most of them are records of gifts to Lord Puruṣottama, Narasiṁha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. The gifts in majority of the cases were perpetual lamps or *niṣkas* or metallic money. Some of these inscriptions are dated in the Śaka years 1035 (1113 AD), 1049, 1053, 1058 etc. Names of donors or their wives, the village and the district they belonged have also been mentioned. In some of the records gotras of different donors, such as Valuva, Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja have been furnished. The name of kings of the Gaṅga family, such as Coḍagaṅga, Anaṅgabhimadeva, Rājarāja, Anantavarman have been found in these inscriptions. One of the records begins with the epithets of a Gaṅga king as, *Paramamāheśvara,*

Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Gaṅga-kula-tilaka and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. Auspicious day such as *Mahādvādaśī* has been mentioned in some of the records. Curiously enough, the name of Jagannātha is not to be found in these inscriptions, though Puruṣottama in place of Jagannāth is frequently met with.

Last but not the least, mention may be made about the stucco figures presently existing on the outer wall of the Jagannāth temple. During the meeting of the 6th Expert Committee, it has been recommended that, "while removing the plaster, care should be taken to detach the extant stucco work, which should be preserved in a local museum". They are likely to break while detaching, and in such cases, the stucco work should promptly be mended. Accordingly, due care has been taken to detach the stucco for its preservation. The detached pieces have been carefully stacked inside a room within the temple complex.

21

THE LINE IN ORISSAN PAINTING

DINANATH PATHY

The line is the most vital structural element in a painting. It is said in *Viṣṇudharmottara* that great masters valued, most, the line composing the picture.[1] The lines, composing a picture could bring out the outstanding features. Such kind of economy has been highly appreciated. This could be compared to Sutrakāra Pāṇini's praise for the economy of even a single syllable as the joy of a son born. The economy of line receives the best attention of the artists and connoisseure while viewing a work of art. This is like the beauty in a literary work or speech which brings out more when less is written or said. In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* occurs the remark of the *Viduṣaka* that the painting looks complete with even a minimum of drawing.[2] More often the viewer reads in between the lines, and therefore the minimum of lines brings out the maximum of the character of objects or shapes.

Line is a conceptual proposition in a work of art. It is elemental and abstract but has the potentiality of rendering shapes, forms and contents. In general, a painting is a harmonious combination of line, form and colours. The forms in a painting are again created with lines. In the paintings of renaissance of the West, line is subdued, concealed in the overwhelming application of colours, in the East the line reigns supreme. In India, in the classical paintings, lines are subtle. When it comes to medieval paintings, the lines become pronounced though in Pahari, Rajput and Mughal paintings it is still within the classical norms. But linearity is a medieval mannerism in the Indian painting.

The line is also the most important feature of the medieval Orissan paintings. Except the Sitavanji mural, which depicts the classical style, all

other Orissan paintings comprising murals, *patas* and palmleaf etchings show predominance of a linear style. Of the four branches of painting, the mural, the *pata* and the paper paintings have similar visual renderings, while the illustrations on palmleaf are basically the art of the line[3].

The merit of a painting as well as of the painter is basically judged from the delineation of line though there are other considerations. In mural, *pata* and paper paintings lines are drawn at two stages, first when the painter starts sketching and at the end when he paints the final lines, which are the real hall mark of artistic ingenuity of a *citrakāra*. In palmleaf illustrations, line is drawn only once which is unalterable and final and the scribe's merit is considered only from the line.

The *citrakāra* who paints the mural or *pata* or the scribe who illustrates the text are so very expert in the line work that the structuring of the composition, determining the figural actions and laying of the figures are all visualised in detail before execution and each line that is engraved, becomes sure and sweeping, starting from the head and terminating at the toe in case of figural renderings. In case of other drawings, the line is rendered with equal force and sweep. Since there is no scope to proceed from mass to details particularly on the palmleaf, the line has to be perfect and, in fact, it becomes perfect from the very beginning. There is no tonal gradation, the stylus is pressed in an uniform manner on the palmleaf throughout the course of the illustration.

However even in palmleaf etchings we find vague flutterings which have been put to order in subsequent renderings in the same composition. These speak about the work of a novice which have been later corrected by the master. We come across a number of such illustrations in the *Bhāgavata* manuscripts of the Orissa State Museum. Although the illustrator has tried to rectify, the preliminary ones are still visible on the palmleaf. In the *Gītagovinda* manuscript in the collections of the Orissa State Museum perhaps the owner of the manuscript has tried to replace two illustrated leafs lost or broken which do not fit to the earlier style of the line work. These replacements bring in incoherence and the different renderings are noticed immediately.

There is a set of *Bhāgavata* paintings on paper in the Orissa State Museum. In a few of these paintings, one notices the presence of preliminary

sketches which have not been covered up with back-ground colour, or the artist has tried to add more figures to the compositions and later given up his venture.[4] But this is not the case always because certain lines still exist which seem as the vague flutterings of the painter with no intention of adding additional figures. All these point out to the fact that all the Orissan painters and scribes were not masters who could draw lines with one sweep of the brush from head to the toe. Since we find such phenomenon mostly in *Bhāgavata* paintings, we are led to believe that in works of mass production, the like of *Bhāgavata*, several artists were engaged for doing line work.

The line has different characters and functions. Depending on its functional aspects, it signifies different meanings. Lines could be thin and thick, fine and bold, sweeping and staying. Lines create forms lucid and graceful, hard and soft. Lines even create chiaroscuro, bringing out the illusion of depths. *Viṣṇudharmottara* illucidates three types of lines which are used in chiaroscuro. These are *vartana, patraja* and *vinduja*.[5]

In palmleaf illustrations, lines have been rendered with greater amplifications and usages. Here lines play the part of tones and colour shades. To bring out the effect of modelling, broken lines in the manner of shading are given only in specific figures. The delineation of hair over the bodies of Narasiṁha, Hanumāna, Jāmbhavāna, and other demonic figures have been done with successive strokes of lines. Similarly to suggest hairy bodies of animals such as pigs, stags, buffalos and bears strokes of lines are given. Eberhard Fisher refers to the shading of the innerside of the outlines in Orissan Painting. The hairy bodies of animals, Narasiṁha, Hanumāna etc. are rendered with multiple shading of the inner area.[6] The method of suggesting bristling hair also exists in Indian painting other than Orissa. He refers to these lines as "eyelashes".[7] Further early examples of parallel folds in clothing with closely juxtaposed lines are found in the paintings of South Rajasthan, Mewar and Malwa. To accentuate modulation, shades in line are not necessary in mural, *pata* or paper paintings because of the presence of colour, but in certain paintings there is use of such lines which seems to have been adopted from palmleaf traditions. Due to the influence of European Art, the manner of giving lines assumed the proportion of tonal shades in a majority of paintings. Besides European influences, Eberhard Fischer mentions of local, traditional source of influence the representation of

hirsute figures with line shades in 19th Century Orissan art, and even earlier in the art of Western and Central India.[8]

In palmleaf illustrations, criss-cross lines are drawn to suggest water bodies, dark sky, house interiors and depths of foliage. These lines are so uniformly and closely knit that the areas covered with lines function as graphic screens. The surface of the palmleaf is so intensely cut with the iron stylus that when the black ink enters into the depths, it forms a flat tint. The scribe avoids horizontal lines on the palmleaf. Therefore we mostly find vertical lines, curves, semicircles, ovals and circles. At times, instead of criss-cross lines, hatching lines are given to bring out the same effect. Wavy lines and flowing lines are also rendered to suggest flowing water, flowing hair etc.

In mural, *pata* and paper paintings, the finishing line, drawn mostly in black, is the final and the most important aspect of the painting. Before painting this final black line, several lines of different contrasting colours are given. These are red lines painted over yellow surfaces to bring out details of ornaments and costumes. The white and yellow lines are painted over red-ochre background to make foliages and decorative motifs. Since the brush is to traverse several times from the colour container to the wall, *pata* or paper the line sustains several stays. A gradual thinning of tone is also noticed between the beginning and ending of brush strokes. Even then, the line maintains its sweeping and vigorous character. And the thick thin effect is so well maintained that it forms a visual pattern in the painting. Traditionally, line width remains constant with neither attraction nor broadening.[9]

The line brings out either the volume or angularity in the figures. The lines have volume in the paintings of Ganjam and South Orissa. It has a narrowing tendency or angularity and it is drawn in a manner to make the figures look elongated in the paintings of Bolangir area. The paintings done in Puri area have stiff lines which tend to be idealised and conventionalised. This may be taken broadly as the characteristics of the lines in the three regional styles of painting in Orissa. But there are deviations as well as interpolations. Speaking in general, the lines have lost their voluminous effect in later paintings and have become too much loose and angular. D.P. Ghosh is of the same view that the lines in earlier paintings of Orissa have more plasticity with opulent curves opposed to the rigid angular treatment of the later times.[10] In Ganjam, the voluminous quality of the line is retained even in

the twentieth century paintings. Moreover the line is subdued in the mural paintings of the Virañcinārāyaṇa temple paintings, at Buguda in Ganjam district. Perhaps this is the only example where in nineteenth century, the line retains the character of classical style. Therefore, with reference to the date of the construction and time of the paintings of the Virañcinārāyaṇa temple, D.P. Ghosh remarks "they are akin to the seventeenth century murals of Srikurmam temple because of the voluminous character of the lines in both the temples' murals".[11] The Virañcinārāyaṇa murals though painted in late eighteenth/and early nineteenth centuries portray a still earlier style because of its highly sensitive, voluminous and refined character of lines. The Dharakote murals of the present century also retains the volume in the line although the lines are thick and bold.[12]

Commenting on a *paṭa* from Ganjam in the collection of Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, D.P. Ghosh mentions that "Rādhā Kṛṣna and *gopis* are delineated in round contours and flowing lines". Illucidating his stand, he further describes another *paṭa* from Ganjam in the same collection - "another profound example of the same school, visualising the heavy massive white body of *kāmadhenu* (wish-fulfilling milk cow) outlined in heaving lines, an indigenous picture of female grace due to the happy combination of volume and space.[13] The *paṭa* painting of Rādhā from Digapahandi has a very graceful and voluptous body with sensitive lines bringing out the volume. Like the quality of line work in the Digapahandi and Chikiti *paṭas* which speak of volume and grace, the *paṭa* paintings of Paralakhemundi depict lines which are undiluted and innocent with a sense of volume. But strange enough, the palmleaf illustrations of the *Bhāgavata* manuscript from South Orissa, in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, belonging to the present century to the style described above. In this manuscript, the lines are angular, sketchy and have erratic tendency. In our view this seems to be the work of a novice and therefore the line work is immature. Although the line work of the Puri area presently is more gothic, burdened with heavy ornamentation and devoid of sensitive charm, a work of the eighteenth century gives us a quite satisfactory feeling about the quality of Puri lines. This is the illustrated manuscript of *Bidagdha Mādhava Nāṭaka* in the collection of the Orissa state Museum.[14] In the illustrations of the manuscript, the lines are graceful, voluminous and portray the keenness of a masterly hand. In its manifestations, it is more closer to the work of Ganjam area.

A comparative analysis of the *Gītagovinda* palmleaf illustrations in the Orissa State Museum, collected form different areas of Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam districts, bring out interesting findings about the character of lines. In the earlier illustrations, which are multicoloured, the role of line have been subdued to the colour tonalities. The lines have become prominent in the alter illustrations. In general, without much specific reference to any particular area, the lines are delicate to the extent of bringing out subtle articulations of body movements. The line lays greater emphasis on the portrayal of gestures and facial expressions.

A very few paintings have come to our notice from Sonepur and Western Orissa. We are therefore viewing the Gañjapās of Sonepur alongwith painted toys from Bargarh area. The lines in the Rāmāyaṇa Gañjapās of Sonepur are angular, minute but clear enough to be discernible in a smaller format.[15] The same character of angularity is also found in the painted toys. In Orissan painting (including the palmleaf etchings) the lines are drawn basically with two contrasting and divergent processes. One is the line of the brushes. This is ought to be subtle and sensitive because of the instrument with which it is drawn. The second is the line of the iron styles. The quality of the stylus line cannot match the fineness of the brush work. But while appreciating the line work of the Orissan painting in general one is simply amazed to notice that the character of the tool is hardly manifested on the line and even at times the line of the stylus becomes more sensitive than the brush. The quality of line work is more dependent on the workmanship of the artist rather than the instrument he handles. Line work is considered the most difficult and important. Therefore the head of the painter's family who is regarded as the master craftsman draws the final line. There are two types of lines, one is the thick variety drawn with a thick brush known as *moṭākalā* and the other is thin variety drawn with a fine brush known as *sarukalā*. Several sketch books of citrakaras which have come down to us reveal the true character of line work.[16] In these sketch books or sketch rolls, the master citrakara's perfect line work is quite telling and sensitive. At times, these sketch books contain both preliminary lines-*tippana* as well as the final lines-*sarukalā*. Attention is drawn to the colour sketch "Gopis in Arbor" in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta. In this sketch the lines have characters of both the preliminary and final lines. Moreover there is unusual

tendency of proceeding from mass to detail which seems more of a western idea. Further there are several unwanted lines in the manner of trying and the final correct line which could be the result of these attempts. This is an unusual tendency because the line work in Orissan paintings is always sure and perfect from the very beginning.

Generally in Orissan painting, the lines are bold, firm and graceful and are mostly drawn in black colour. But such black lines are not found in Rajput, Mughal and Ajanta. In order to mellow down the prominence of final line, another subsidiary line or an under-tone is given close to it which has served as shading and helped to accentuate the plasticity. Compared to the Western Indian tradition of line work, line in Orissan paintings are less sharp, aggressive, less angular but more sensitive and sweeping. Orissan drawing has a delicate draughtsmanship and patterning.[17]

What little we know of Orissan art during the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century it suggests that the classical tradition of the province not only survived but developed with a certain baroque vigour which can be very impressive. Baroque vigour suggest volume, ornamentation and patterning in the line.[18]

Hence, we may conclude that the line is the major property of Orissan paintings. Two types of lines, one the brush line the other the stylus engraved line, are used in the Orissan painting traditions. While there are no gradations in the engraved line, the painted brush lines have gradations. The lines portray stylistical variations belonging to different regions and periods in the Orissan Painting tradition.

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